

12

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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Second Series

12

A large, stylized, handwritten signature in white ink, likely representing Jawaharlal Nehru, positioned in the lower right quadrant of the cover.A small, stylized, handwritten signature in white ink, likely representing Jawaharlal Nehru, positioned in the bottom left corner of the cover.

“So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the ‘third world’ as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. . . .the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.”

Indira Gandhi

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



LEH, 5 JULY 1949

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Twelve

**A Project of the
Jawaharlal Nehru
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General Editor

S. Gopal

FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interest in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

Indira Gandhi.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

The eight weeks from 21 June to 15 August 1949 covered in this volume saw the Prime Minister preparing India to function as a Republic with the new Constitution soon coming into force. In the final stages of its making, Nehru participated in debates on the right to property— its acquisition and compensation, citizenship rights, the constitutional status of Delhi, the salt tax, privy purses and the question of language.

Nehru stressed that discipline, hard work and mutual cooperation were necessary if the Constitution were to endure and be effective. There was obviously no aspect of the administration which did not concern him, but some matters were of prime urgency. The food problem should be tackled by intensive cultivation, growing of supplementary foods, changing food habits and speedy implementation of land reforms. A fair deal to labour should go along with discipline and higher production. He favoured control for cotton textiles and the removal of the open general licence for goods that needed protection and preferred industrialization and economic viability to mere nationalization. He insisted on strict enforcement of the tax laws and suggested that any tax on advertisements in newspapers should not infringe the freedom of the press. Developments in China gave added emphasis to the need for developing the border areas.

The rehabilitation of refugees, their education and housing, and the conversion of refugee camps into work centres continued to receive Nehru's attention. He asked for repromulgation of the ordinance for recovery of abducted women even when critics were sceptical about Pakistan's positive action on a reciprocal basis.

In foreign affairs, while supporting the military ceasefire agreement in Kashmir, he informed the U.N.C.I.P. and the United States that India could not agree to any proposals on truce, including arbitration, unless Pakistan first vacated aggression. He declined to join the proposed Asian Pacific Union against communism, continued to voice India's concern against racial discrimination in Africa, supported the cause of freedom of Indonesia and urged its leaders to remain united. With regard to the neighbouring areas of Nepal, Tibet, Afghanistan and Burma, he offered cooperation without interference in their internal affairs.

We are grateful to the Nehru Memorial Library for access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and other relevant collections. Shrimati Indira Gandhi made available to us a large number of documents in her possession and these papers have been referred to in the notes as the J.N. Collection. The secretariats of the President, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, the Ministry of External Affairs, the National Archives of India and the Press Information Bureau have authorized the reproduction of material in their possession. Much of it is classified and some portions have necessarily had to be deleted. A few items from Volumes VIII and IX of *Sardar Patel's Correspondence* and Volume VI of *Foreign Relations of the United States* have been included.

The biographical footnotes covered in the earlier volumes of the *Selected Works* have been mentioned in the index with the volume number.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
A.I.R.	All India Radio
A.L.J.	Allahabad Law Journal
C.P.W.D.	Central Public Works Department
F.A.O.	Food and Agriculture Organization
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
I.M.F.	International Monetary Fund
I.N.A.	Indian National Army
J. & K.	Jammu and Kashmir
K.L.M.	Royal Dutch Airlines
M.E.A. & C.R.	Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
M.L.A.	Member of Legislative Assembly
M.P.	Member of Parliament
N.A.I.	National Archives of India
N.E.F.A.	North East Frontier Agency
N.W.F.P.	North West Frontier Province
O.G.L.	Open General Licence
P.C.C.	Provincial Congress Committee
P.K.I.	Indonesian Communist Party
P.M.S.	Prime Minister's Secretariat
P.N.I.	Indonesian National Party
R.C.P.I.	Revolutionary Communist Party of India
R.I.A.F.	Royal Indian Air Force
R.S.P.	Revolutionary Socialist Party
R.S.S.	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
U.N.C.I.P.	United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan
Unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
U.P.	United Provinces
U.P.A.	United Press Agency
U.P.P.C.C.	United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Bajpai² placed a note before me today in which he drew attention to some editorials in newspapers³ and pointed out that while the country's international reputation in the political field is high, our economic situation is just the reverse. That of course we all know. I confess I am very much worried about this matter, not so much because the position is bad, but rather from a feeling that we are not tackling it effectively or with speed. Perhaps our present machinery is not adequate for that purpose. We deal with problems separately, but the major problems somehow remain untackled. My own knowledge of economic affairs is limited and therefore it is not easy for me to suggest remedies. But I feel in my bones that something more effective and far-reaching is required than what we are doing. I should like to have talks with you on this subject before you go.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(114)/54-PMS.
2. Girija Shankar Bajpai, Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs.
3. *The Statesman*, *The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*.
4. Matthai went to Britain on 5 July to attend the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference and returned on 23 July 1949.

2. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
July 24, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for sending me your draft broadcast.²

I have little to say about it except to suggest one or two things.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Broadcast on the eve of the second anniversary of India's independence. Notes here are based on the broadcast delivered by Rajagopalachari on 14 August 1949.

In the first paragraph you say that there are no controversies over policies and that there is general agreement about them.³ This is hardly correct. I should have said that there are controversies over policies, even among Congressmen, in regard to some matters, much more so among others. It is true that the controversies are vague and lack precision. Sometimes, in fact generally, arguments are just destructive.

On page 2, second paragraph, you say that people do not realize how much more fortunate we are in our resources, in our Government, etc.⁴ Is it necessary or advisable to talk of our people being fortunate in our Government? It will look rather like special pleading on the Government's behalf. Your argument about self-abasement would hold without any particular reference to Government.

I am returning your draft.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Rajagopalachari said that the "Government at the Centre and in the provinces and other public organizations engaged in national service are doing their best to cope with problems, which are many and tough. There are not a few hurdles to overcome even in the execution of policies over which the people are in general agreement. These hurdles can be got over if people will recognise difficulties and make up their minds to cooperate whole-heartedly."
4. Rajagopalachari stated that "People do not realize how much more fortunate we are in our resources and in the conditions in which we live than many other people among the nations of the world. Our men and women are not less honest than men and women in other parts of the world. Nothing is gained by depression and needless self-abasement. Confidence is the foundation of achievement."

3. The Personality and Progress of India¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think the best course would be to start off by asking you to put me any question. It may be that afterwards I shall say something in addition to what you may ask, if that has not already been covered in my answers.

Question: Would you be prepared to review India's achievements during the past years?

JN: It is rather a big subject. If you like I might indicate some high points, but perhaps it will be as well to do that towards the end when I have answered the other questions.

1. Press Conference, New Delhi, 5 August 1949. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 6 August 1949.

Q: What about French settlements in India, including Chandernagore?

JN: The position still remains where it was. You know, Chandernagore has decided by referendum in favour of joining the Indian Union² and sometime or other they will join, that is, within two or three months, whatever the period may be, we are not at all anxious to hustle this process. The thing has been decided but certain legal formalities have to be gone through, not by us but by the French Parliament.³ As soon as they go through them, the transfer will take place. What we were anxious about Chandernagore was not so much the question of legal transfer but rather that there should be no interregnum between these two Governments, because Chandernagore has been even in the past rather a nest for undesirable people going from Calcutta and hiding there and we did not want that to continue, and I hope some steps will be taken to prevent that kind of thing happening. For the rest it does not really matter whether it takes two or three months more for the transfer.

So far as other places are concerned, like Pondicherry, etc.,⁴ there is going to be a referendum round about December. You might have heard that a delegation from these French possessions, which previously went to Paris, came here, and we had talks.⁵ As a matter of fact, we told them exactly what our policy had been all this time. If you refer to a resolution that the Jaipur Congress passed last December,⁶ you will find that policy clearly stated. This policy was, first of all, that these possessions of foreign powers must necessarily revert to India because we cannot tolerate the idea of this Indian sub-continent having footholds occupied by foreign powers. But apart from that we have said that as far as possible autonomy should be given, their distinctive character should be recognized and a period of transition with their consent and cooperation should be fixed up. A place like Pondicherry, during the last 250 or 300 years of French domination, has developed many French habits, French cultural ways and traditions which we rather welcome. We do not wish to remove them. Indeed we should rather like Pondicherry to remain a centre of French culture in India. We should like to encourage it to remain there.

2. On 19 June 1949.

3. A formal treaty of transfer was signed at Paris on 2 February 1951. On 11 April 1952, the treaty of transfer of sovereignty of Chandernagore to India was ratified by the National Assembly in Paris; and finally, on 9 June 1952, France transferred *de jure* sovereignty over Chandernagore to India.

4. On 25 January 1948, the French India Peoples' Convention in Pondicherry passed a resolution calling for complete merger of French India with the Dominion of India. The *de facto* merger of the French settlements of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam with the Indian Union took place on 1 November 1954.

5. On 29 July 1949. See *post*, Section 12, sub-section VI(i), item 2.

6. The resolution on foreign possessions in India passed at the Jaipur Congress on 19 December 1948 advocated that "these possessions be politically incorporated in India... by peaceful methods and the friendly cooperation of the Governments concerned." See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, pp. 426-427.

It is for them to decide. So we told them all this that we would like to keep them as a distinctive and autonomous unit and then gradually, in the course of the next two or three years, decide in consultation with them what exactly is the form of government, etc., which they might have.

Q: Could we not have told the French Government that their possessions in India were gifts from the British and now that the British have honourably quitted they better follow the same path?

JN: I know that it will be a completely logical position, and we have taken up a position which, if I may say so, is not quite logical. But we say two things which are contradictory. First of all, we say and we stand by it, that this matter should be decided by the vote of the people there. We shall abide by it because we do not wish to force them into anything. On the other hand, we also say that we cannot conceive of any foreign power remaining here, vote or no vote. What it really means is that if the vote went against joining India, we would submit to it, but the question would remain unsolved till it is solved otherwise later. It simply means delaying solution of the problem. Fortunately, that contingency is not likely to arise, so it does not matter.

Q: About Portugal, and Goa?

JN: We have not told Portugal directly anything. As a matter of fact, our Minister to Portugal⁷ will be going there in the course of the next week or so.

Q: Is there any substance in the rumour that during the Hyderabad offensive the Portuguese were in league with Razakars through Goa?

JN: I should not be surprised that there was a fair amount of smuggling from Goa, etc., because these places have always been places where smuggling takes place.

Q: Was the Portuguese Government involved?

JN: How can I say if the Government was involved? Smuggling took place from Goa, I think it is pretty certain, but I cannot say to what extent the Portuguese Government was associated with it.

Q: Do we take it that our stand with regard to Portuguese possessions would be the same as that with regard to the French?

7. Parakat Achutha Menon, envoy to Portugal, 1949-51.

JN: Exactly the same.

Q: In the French settlements there has never been smuggling, but Portuguese were definitely inimical to our interests?

JN: There has been plenty of smuggling from Pondicherry.

Q: Is it a fact that the Government of India have been approached by General Romulo⁸ on the question of a Pacific Pact?⁹ Rumour was that he was selling the idea.

JN: Not to my knowledge.

Q: You passed some remarks in the last press conference about the Socialist Party of India. As a representative of *Janata*, the official organ of the Socialist Party, I am interested whether you are going to revise those remarks?

JN: I do not know what remarks you are particularly referring to. I made many remarks.

Q: May I bring to your notice that Mr Rammanohar Lohia held a press conference in which he said if anybody were to be hanged in India it was the Prime Minister? You can ask what he has got to say on that.

JN: Why should I ask him?

Q: Could you tell us something about Communist activities in India?

JN: Personally I think that our Home Minister has been very remiss about this matter. What I mean is this; I hope they will tell you more about their activities than they have done thus far and perhaps place before you various circulars, leaflets and other pamphlets issued by the Communist Party or on its behalf which contain open incitements to murder, violence, sabotage, etc. There is no doubt that the policy of the Communist Party in India is a policy completely allied with violence and which has nothing to do with any economic betterment in the case of workers.

8. Carlos P. Romulo (1889-1986); Philippine writer, educator and diplomat; chief of the Philippine Mission at the United Nations, 1945-54; President of General Assembly, 1949-50 and of Security Council, 1957; Foreign Affairs Minister, 1950-52 and 1969-84.

9. An Asian Pacific Union pact was proposed to further mutual regional cooperation and to counter communism in the region. The move was initiated by Elpidio Quirino of Philippines, Chiang Kai-shek of Kuomintang and Syngman Rhee of Korea. See also Section 12, sub-section IV, items 1 and 2.

It is just meant to create trouble and chaos. It is not their fault that that policy has not succeeded very much. In fact, they have met with very substantial reverses and, at the present moment, so far as I can understand, they are indulging in some heart searching as to what they should do about it. They tried this in Hyderabad and the Andhra border. Also they tried this, and to some extent they are still trying it, in parts of Bengal. They can bring off an outrage here and there sometimes, but it is dead clear that they are enraging the general public against them, quite apart from Governmental action. It was a very interesting experience that I had when I went to Calcutta some weeks ago,¹⁰ because for about ten days previously a raging tearing campaign was carried on there for the boycott of my visit, not only by the Communist Party but by a number of other splinter groups and other parties.¹¹

Q: Socialists, included?

JN: Yes, I am sorry to say. And I say that as an example of the left unity that is so much talked about. All joined in boycotting my visit. Well, it is not for me to say whether my visit should be boycotted or not, but it did seem to me an extraordinarily unwise thing to measure their strength with me on that issue, because the result was, as you know, it was roughly a question of a million to a thousand. Till then they had succeeded in creating a lot of apprehension in Calcutta. It is extraordinary what a handful of armed people can do. They can just go about and terrify the people. Just half a dozen armed men can hold up a tram-car, turn the people out and set fire to the tram-car. The people will simply watch the tram-car being burnt because six armed men are standing there. It is quite extraordinary. Before I went to Calcutta, every day there was trouble in Calcutta and roundabout. Since I went there, there has hardly been anything in Calcutta or roundabout. There have been one or two minor cases. It is an extraordinary change that has taken place there. That is worth noting. Why? Not because the Government did something mighty. Of course the Government functioned; it has to function. But because I put it to the people of Calcutta when I was there: "It is up to you to take charge of the situation." I told the police to interfere as little as possible. "You are interfering much too much." When the police interferes unfortunately they do not easily distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. They get excited themselves. Of course you have to interfere when you see something happening and the result is popular feeling in Calcutta rose against this kind of thing. Two or three incidents happened immediately. When next they started burning a tram-car, those people,

10. From 12 to 14 July 1949.

11. A meeting of leftist groups was held in Calcutta at 4.15 p.m. on 14 July to coincide with Nehru's meeting, and was presided over by R.C.P.I. leader Saumendranath Tagore. Other participants were the R.S.P., the Forward Bloc and the Socialist Party.

in spite of their arms, got a very bad beating from the public, not from the police. There is no tram-car burning after that. They found it was an uncomfortable thing to do.

So also in that great public meeting that I addressed in Calcutta,¹² an amazing, colossal meeting. Most of you must have read accounts of it. It was an astounding phenomenon not merely by the size of it but by the fact of discipline displayed at the meeting. When a bomb goes off, kills one person¹³ and wounds four or five, still the meeting goes on without stopping even for 15 seconds. I put it to the crowd and the police especially that nobody is going to budge even, if murders are committed here. I said I will deal with everything from the rostrum and the police were a marvel of discipline. When even a comrade of theirs was killed before their eyes they stood there and they did not move till they brought a stretcher and quietly took him away, and the meeting went on. So also when in the middle of the audience some mischief-makers tried to misbehave they were rapidly dealt with by the crowd and the meeting never stopped. I spoke for one and three quarters of an hour and only once did I stop for about 45 seconds to give some instructions. It was an amazing thing, this discipline of the crowd and of the police. It shows that these mischief-making elements succeed only when people lose their discipline or get frightened by something. As soon as they hold together these people cannot do anything.

I just don't know in answer to what question I said all this.

Q: Was it not a victory only of personality rather than of policy?

JN: How am I to balance and measure these two things? Personality evolves through various policies. The two are inter-connected.

Q: In the case of the R.S.S. which was alleged to have indulged in violence and supposed to be having an anti-democratic constitution, the R.S.S. was banned to enable it to purge its violence and the ban was removed¹⁴ after the organizers agreed to change their constitution. Similarly do the Government contemplate banning the Communist Party to make them change their attitude?

JN: The R.S.S. was not banned because of any constitution or lack of constitution. The R.S.S. was banned because it was associated with actual violence in Delhi and the rest of India both at the time of those big troubles nearly two years ago and subsequently. That was the reason. Of course as a matter of fact they had no constitution. Normally they say they are not a political body but a cultural body,

12. On 14 July 1949, at Brigade Parade Ground. See *post*, Section 9, sub-section I, item 10.

13. Police Constable Gaur Singh.

14. The ban imposed on the R.S.S. in February 1948 was lifted on 12 July 1949.

although they have functioned in the past in a very markedly political and violently political way. It was because of that that we banned that organization, not because of their constitution.

But you are perfectly right if you suggest that the Communist Party, with their activities that they have been indulging in, should be banned. I think any government would be justified in banning an organization of that type which is carrying on these violent activities against the State. It is banned in one province, West Bengal.¹⁵ It is not a question of lacking justification but rather of taking such steps as are supposed to be best to deal with a particular situation.

Now, we have been feeling, not in regard to the Communist Party I mean, but generally speaking, that we can afford to relax some of the repressive measures, etc., that Government had to take. We have done that as you know, and large numbers of people who had been detained have been released and other steps of this kind have also been taken. It is always a very difficult business. We are accused by various people, by various groups in the country, of crushing civil liberties. Sometimes people outside India make wild statements about 'twenty-five thousand peasants and workers being put in prison by us.' I saw a statement coming from London the other day. Well, most of you gentlemen have some acquaintance at least with happenings in India during the last two years or so. There is often a conflict between the State's duty to maintain security and the State's duty to maintain liberty. Both have to be maintained, and should be maintained. There is individual liberty, there is national liberty or national freedom. There is individual security, there is national security or group security. Now, it is obvious that there can be no liberty without security. Liberty goes if there is no security, it simply vanishes. And in moments of crisis, for a State, security becomes the more basic thing after which only liberty can come. Therefore we have had to lay stress on this basic thing, that is, the safety and security of the State. Indeed, individual liberty can only flourish when there is security—civil liberty can only flourish then.

Some conceptions of civil liberty seem to me quite fantastic. The conception of civil liberty for some people seems to be to interfere as much as possible with other people's liberties, and call it 'civil liberty'. It was presumably some such conception of civil liberty which was in the minds of those who wanted to boycott my visit to Calcutta, when they asked for that boycott. I was not interfering with them. I had gone there to address the public. Anybody could come or not come to the meeting; nobody was forced to come. But they started this boycott business. That, I take it, was an enlargement of their idea of civil liberty.

15. The West Bengal branch of the Communist Party of India was banned on 25 March 1948 and subsequently a number of Communists were arrested in order to curb violence, strikes and sabotage.

Q: Sir, I was at Lucknow when you were leading a procession to boycott the Simon Commission. At that time you thought it was civil liberty.

JN: I did nothing of the kind.

Q: Yes, Sir, I was an eye-witness there.

JN: I do not know. I was merely saying what I thought, and I do not know where the Simon Commission and my leading a procession in 1929¹⁶ come in here.

Q: I put a very good headline 'Hooliganism *versus* licensed Hooliganism' and Sir John Simon also called me in that connection. The Simon Commission could have argued in the same way "why should you boycott us"?

JN: You are getting very much mixed up. You are forgetting the fact that I am the Prime Minister of India and I think people ought to remember that fact. For this reason I represent the State, I represent a free independent State. I am not a foreigner in this country imposing his will. I have been chosen by the people here. When they want to kick me out, I go. Any Indian, whether he is opposed to me or not, must recognize the fact that I am the chosen Prime Minister of this country. He may vote against me, riot against me, if he wants to, I do not mind that. But it is a curious habit our own people have, which few other people have, of running down your own chosen leaders, your own country, your own people, not only in India but outside India. I do not know how this kind of self-torture, how this habit has risen up, whether it is a relic of old times. But it is an extraordinary thing. You cannot compare it with what happens in a democratic country. It does not matter what policies we follow. They may be right or wrong. You can vote against them; you can riot against them. The matter ends. But nevertheless it is some kind of a democratic structure, of government being carried on and certain ministers, prime ministers and others, functioning there. It is a completely different thing for a person coming from a foreign country trying to impose a constitution or anything on us. I am surprised that you compare the two things.

Q: That is what I wanted to know: whether you also thought on these lines of the difference between a foreigner and an Indian? In this Commission you boycotted a person as he was a foreigner.

JN: We boycotted the Simon Commission but we did not boycott Sir John Simon. We did not boycott him personally or anybody. If Sir John Simon wanted to meet

16. In fact in 1928. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 3, pp. 81-122.

us, we could meet him or not. But it was a Commission which was sent here to enquire into our capacity for self-rule. That was an insult to us that the British Government or any government should send anybody to examine us and see how far we are fit to do this or that. It is intolerable presumption of any individual or any government to do this to the Indian people and this country.

This has nothing to do with the situation at all. I was telling you really of this conflict between liberty and security. Take the situation in Calcutta about which I spoke to you. About a handful of men—Calcutta has a population, I think of four million or more now, may be a thousand persons in Calcutta or a little more banding themselves to create trouble? And a thousand persons can do a lot of mischief if the public are passive, inert and indifferent. In fact they reduce the civil liberties of the four millions considerably. And if they interfere with public meetings, they break up public meetings and indulge in hooliganism, all this is interference with civil liberties by people who all the time shout about civil liberties. So that it is essential, where there is public disorder, to put that down and put it down rigorously. I will be prepared to adopt repressive legislation, if you like, in order that civil liberty and any kind of liberty might flourish. Otherwise there is no civil liberty. It is all bunkum and nonsense, people talking about civil liberty and creating disorder in the country.

Q: There is a certain amount of feeling growing in the country that if there was a coalition between the Socialists and the Congress, the Communist menace would be considerably minimized, that it might almost perhaps disappear. Do you subscribe to that view?

JN: I subscribe to the view of the largest measure of cooperation between people of goodwill and people thinking generally on more or less the same lines—we may differ in many ways but looking generally in the same direction—that they should cooperate in India for the good of the country and the people.

Personally, I think, I won't speak generally about every country; I am speaking of my own country for the moment, that it is a dangerous thing to run away with any 'ism'. Let us deal with facts as they are. We have got to solve problems; whether it is a problem of poverty, unemployment, greater production or individual freedom, or whatever the problems are, but broadly speaking, the necessities of life of those who lack them, that is the fundamental problem always, and everything else is built up around it. Now, let us consider that problem. Let us consider how to solve it in the best way we can regardless of any 'ism' attached to it, because as soon as you get down to any 'ism' you get down to dogmatic ways of approach to a changing situation and thereby you are apt not only possibly to go wrong but get into ruts of thinking. Therefore, I think we ought to avoid that. In fact, as you know, our present Government of India is certainly not a one-party government.

It is a coalition government, although one party dominates it. But right at the beginning an attempt was made to invite eminent people to join it, and they have played an important part in it.

Q: Are you aware of a circular issued by the All India Congress Committee that members of the municipal and district boards who are Congressmen should not associate themselves with the reception to Jayaprakash Narayan and other Socialist leaders?

JN: All India Congress Committee, was it? I am not aware of that.

Q: A little while ago, you condemned the Communists, because they were saboteurs and resorted to violence. But before these things broke out in West Bengal, you banned the Communist organization in the rest of India where there was no sabotage or organized or any form of violence. Why?

JN: I think you are wrong in your history. The Communist Party, as everyone who has followed events knows, about a year and a half ago, suddenly took a new turn, i.e., about March 1948. Not only here but in various parts of South East Asia, they definitely adopted the policy of violence and producing chaos, whether in industrial or rural lands, everywhere. And since then they have followed it and with ever-growing vehemence. In some places, they created a big situation outside India. In India they were checked. This has been going on for a year and a half. The big round up of Communists took place, to which our friend refers, when the railway strike was threatened,¹⁷ when some of the Communist unions, in spite of the decision of the Railwaymen's Federation not to have a general strike, insisted on having a strike, and openly in speeches and in circulars preached sabotage. It was too dangerous a thing for us, sabotage of the railway system. It was then that there was a round up, not of Communists as such but of all those persons whom we suspected of sabotage or who might have committed sabotage.

Q: Will you seek the cooperation of the R.S.S. for fighting what is generally known as the Communist menace?

JN: Well, I should personally say that although the R.S.S. and the Communists are in a sense poles apart, nevertheless in another sense they are very near to each

17. The proposed strike from 9 March 1949 was withdrawn by the Railwaymen's Union. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, pp. 39 and 311; and Vol.10, p. 211.

other, in both their love of violence and their authoritarianism. And you will find that in odd places there is sometime even some cooperation between the two just to oppose the Congress. So, so far as we are concerned, although all kinds of barriers and bans which existed generally have been removed, and in the case of the R.S.S. nearly all of them have been discharged from prison, we do not frankly trust the R.S.S. very much and we shall keep a very vigilant outlook in regard to it.

Q: Between communism and fascism which is the lesser evil?

JN: It is an extraordinary thing to say, which do you prefer—death by drowning or falling from a precipice?

Q: You made a statement¹⁸ sometime in 1932 or 1934 that as between fascism and communism, your head was for the latter. What is your view now?

JN: Still the same.

Q: Arising out of your earlier statement that you did not trust the R.S.S., there is a general impression among the public that because of the invitation being sent to Mr Golwalkar¹⁹ and the way he has been treated by the Home Minister, the R.S.S. is in the confidence of the Government as against the Communists.

JN: The impression is completely wrong.

Q: Is our objection to communism only because they are wedded to violence or because of ideological differences?

JN: What do you mean by “our”—who is our?

Q: Our means, your and my Government.

JN: No. In this matter, so far as our Government is concerned, the Indian Government, whatever its views may be, it wants every kind of freedom to be

18. On 18 December 1933. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 6, pp. 133-134.

19. Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, arrested in November 1948 for R.S.S. activities, was released in July 1949. Nehru invited Golwalkar to come and see him and they met on 16 August 1949. Nehru commended him for completely eschewing destructive methods and adopting a constructive role.

given to people to preach their views, their doctrines, provided they do so peacefully, provided they do not try to upset the State, whatever it may be. And we come up against communism because they are trying to upset the State and because they are violent all the time. Now, as individuals, we may approve of a certain economic order on which communism is based or we may disapprove of it or we may have varying opinions in regard to it.

There are one or two matters, apart from the general summing up, that I should like to mention to you. One is about Tibet; rebellion in Tibet, communist or some thing else.²⁰ It was subsequently, I think, denied. It was completely baseless and without foundation. There has been no trouble at all in Tibet. The Tibetan Government for reasons of their own have decided to send away some Chinese residents there. That is all that has happened and we come into the picture because we happen to be on the way. We can neither stop them being sent away or do anything else about it. We come in because we were asked to allow them passage through India. That is the only way we come in. Presumably, they will come to India and we will allow them to pass wherever they want to go to.

In this connection, I should like to say something else. Yesterday I saw an article²¹ in a Bombay weekly, called *Blitz*. Anything more fantastical, anything more removed from truth I can't imagine. I am very sorry I am mentioning the paper—I cannot help it, there is a limit and that limit has been passed so far as I am concerned and my Government is concerned; and the gentleman²² who has written that article in this paper is an idiot, a knave or a liar or everything combined. I am surprised that a man who calls himself a journalist should indulge in those falsehoods, and this gentleman particularly who has been guilty in the past of treasonable conduct to India²³ and whom we have forgiven so far. I want to tell him, if he is sitting here, that this is the last of this kind of thing that we have tolerated. For the present all privileges will be withdrawn from him. We are considering what other steps we may take because this is not a simple matter, and

20. See *post*, Section 12, sub-section V(iv), item 3.

21. The article published on 2 August 1949 cautioned that since political changes of far-reaching international importance were taking place in Tibet, it was not advisable for India to have a British officer as India's political agent in Lhasa, "for it was humanly impossible for him to implement Pandit Nehru's independent foreign policy without being consciously or unconsciously biased in favour of Anglo-American global interests." It demanded an explanation for granting one year's extension to this British officer "and that too at a time when the Tibetans decided to repudiate the age-old Chinese suzerainty and join in the 'cold war' against U.S.S.R. and Red China: a step which was later acclaimed both in Britain and America."

22. G.K. Reddy, at that time the correspondent of *Blitz* in New Delhi.

23. He served as Director of Publicity attached to the 'Azad Kashmir' Government.

I ask you, gentlemen of the press, that whatever our faults may have been, the kind of stuff that appears in newspapers here in English, Hindi and Urdu and other languages—the kind of criticism that appears, surely it cannot be said that the press of India is severely repressed and does not say what it wants to say in criticism of government, etc. It is always prepared to tolerate that kind of thing but when it begins to interfere with our foreign relations, when it may create an international situation by falsehoods, it is impossible to tolerate. As a matter of fact, every responsible journalist should know that even in regard to the expression of truth sometimes one has to restrain oneself lest the truth should produce a serious situation in foreign matters. But when it is not the truth but falsehood and utter and absolute falsehood, it is an amazing thing that any man should do this, and this *Blitz* newspaper has been repeatedly indulging in it. We have not done anything about it because, in spite of the complaints that we have crushed civil liberties, and *Blitz* shouts the loudest, you can see how far the civil liberties in regard to expression of public opinion are allowed in this country.

Q: May I ask about your visit to the United States?

JN: I propose to arrive in the United States on the 11th October and to remain there till the end of the month and to spend about two or three days in Canada. I am just drawing up a programme there, a pretty heavy programme.

Q: About Dr Mohammad Hatta?

JN: Dr Hatta is arriving day-after-tomorrow. He will stay here for two days on his way to The Hague. We have always kept in intimate touch with each other, the Indonesian Government and our Government. Dr Hatta is a personal friend of mine for the last 20 years. We met in the year 1927 at a Conference which was held at Brussels—the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities. Since then much of his time has been spent in detention and a good deal of my time has also been spent in that way. So, we shall naturally have full discussions because we have many things in common and in many ways we think alike.

Q: May we ask about the latest position in South Africa?

JN: Since our delegation came back from the United Nations, we sent a message to the Pakistan Government, suggesting that both of us might take steps now to approach, either jointly or separately, the South African Government to have a round table conference in accordance with the United Nations Assembly's

resolution.²⁴ The Pakistan Government did not send any reply for a considerable time, for three weeks or more. We did not want to delay matters. So we directly approached the South African Government,²⁵ informing Pakistan that we were doing so. To that the South African Government sent a reply, saying that they welcomed this suggestion, but making various suggestions, qualifications and provisions, etc. They suggested that before a conference was held, it might be desirable that the preliminaries to that conference might be discussed by some representatives of the two Governments and that India might send someone to South Africa to discuss the preliminaries. We sent an answer that we would have preferred some elucidation to take place by correspondence first but nevertheless we were quite prepared to send someone to South Africa. I don't think we have yet received a reply to that particularly.

Q: The Prime Minister of Pakistan has made a statement²⁶ that about three and a half crore Muslims in India are not living a free life. Has our Government taken any step to find out if that was the correct statement he made and has Pakistan's attention been drawn to the unfriendly nature of that remark?

JN: We have drawn his attention to that, and we believe it was a very unjustifiable remark for anyone to have made, more specially a person in such a responsible position as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The only way to verify it was to refer to the columns of the *Dawn*.

Q: You have taken notice of a sort of malicious propaganda published in certain papers. I want to know whether genuine criticism published is also taken into consideration. As an instance I will mention about the time taken in going from Fatehpuri to Lahori Gate.²⁷ The road is in such complete chaotic conditions, there are lots of *thelas* lying idle and blocking the way. I want to know whether genuine criticism appearing in responsible press has ever been taken notice of.

led upon India, Pakistan and South
Africa through mutual discussions.

medieval Shahjahanabad, where the
uated.

24. The General Assembly's resolution of 14 May 1949 calling for South Africa to settle the question of Indian settlers in South Africa.
25. On 2 July 1949.
26. On 29 July 1949 at Karachi.
27. A congested locality in the walled city of Old Delhi, where the main external gateway to the Red Fort's Lahori Gate is situated.

JN: I hope so and I am sure it is, though I cannot say, by whom and to what extent. But it is supposed to be. Certainly whenever my attention comes that way I take the trouble to draw other people's attention too.

Q: During the old days of the Viceroy's Executive Council I can name at least three, Sir Edward Benthall,²⁸ Mr N.R. Sarkar and Sir Homi Mody—they were entitled to saloons, but just to relieve the load on the trains they never travelled in saloons. They went by ordinary first class. When they moved about in the streets, there never used to be so much fuss. Why are our Congress Ministers, even Deputy Ministers, putting so much load on our trains and so much congestion in our traffic?

JN: Are you talking about railways or something else?

Q: I am talking about more load on the road and on the permanent way.

JN: I do not understand the load on the road. Are they so fat or what?

Q: On such occasions you cannot move about for half an hour till the Deputy Minister finishes his tea at the Coronation Hotel.²⁹ We cannot even pass through that way; all traffic is stopped.

JN: This is the first time I have heard of this. I am sorry I am not aware of this.

Q: May we go from Lahori Gate to India so that you can give a picture of the country?

JN: I remember once the Governor-General went to Regal Cinema or some such place. There was a complaint and we went rather carefully into it and the complaint was justified on that occasion. That was just one case. The poor Governor-General knew nothing about it. He never goes to the cinema. The U.K. High Commissioner had invited him to see *Hamlet*.³⁰ He had invited me too. It was the only time he had been to the cinema.

Q: Why should traffic be stopped?

28. Edward Charles Benthall (1893-1961); British businessman in India; Director, Imperial Bank of India, 1926-34 and its Governor, 1928-30; President, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, 1932; Director, Ministry of Economic Welfare, London, 1940-41 and Board of Trade, 1941-42; Member, Governor-General's Executive Council, 1942-46.

29. It was located in Fatehpuri in Old Delhi.

30. *Hamlet*, a film made by Sir Laurence Olivier in 1948.

JN: I agree with you that it should not be stopped.

Q: Must they travel in saloons, Sir?

JN: I do not know who travels in saloons. As a matter of fact, I have not travelled in a train for several years now.

Q: How do the ministers keep in touch with public opinion?

JN: Don't you see they are all keeping in touch with the public moving about in Lahori Gate and other places.

Now, about this general survey. I do not quite know where to begin. May I just say a few words about our basic approach whether it is in foreign policy or domestic policy. It has often been said in regard to foreign policy that we do not wish to align ourselves with particular power blocs, etc. This is a very negative kind of statement. Obviously a policy cannot be based on this negative attitude. It is a definite and positive attitude that we have, although it is sometimes expressed in a negative way. India in the past, as you know, was what is called a classic example of imperialism. All the other countries really came into the ken of European powers later. This was the biggest and the oldest example. That example governed the relationship of Asia to Europe, colonial Asia to what you might say an imperialist Europe or rather some countries of Europe. And in a space of about 200 years a certain relationship developed between what might be called the East and the West, using these terms to denote European countries on the one side and Asia on the other. Now that relationship is changing very much. People realize that and yet realizing it do not sufficiently follow up the consequences of it. That is why we often say that the United Nations or some organ of the United Nations do not pay enough attention to Asian problems. They think much more in terms of European problems, not that European problems are not important, but it is a question of perspective. They have not adapted themselves to the actual changes that have taken place and are taking place daily. All this talk even of power blocs, etc., is very realistic but somehow does not take fully into consideration this changed situation in Asia.

Now, India when it started on its career, even when it was struggling for its freedom, talked about three things. It talked always in terms of other subject nations being freed, in terms of no racial discrimination and in terms of world peace. These are the three things which we always tied on to our own freedom. To some extent they were pious exhortations then for us, but now that we are a free country, our foreign policy flows from those things that we repeated so often in the past and tried, in some measure at any rate, to make them living embodiments of our policy today. To that you might add that India in spite of, if I may say so with all respect,

various parties representing various 'isms' is something different from these 'isms' for which these parties stand. It is a very complicated matter and I do not propose to go into it. Perhaps it is more than one thing. But I think it may be said very definitely that India is one of those countries with a definite powerful personality which has survived through the ages and which no doubt is going ahead with full vigour in the future. It may stumble and fall, it may make mistakes, it may do wrong things and all that. Nevertheless it is a powerful personality going ahead and that personality has been powerfully influenced by many things. It has been influenced, if you like, by socialistic ideals and by communistic ideals, but it has been powerfully influenced above everything else by Mahatma Gandhi's personality and his teachings. It just does not matter even if it goes against all these things. We have been influenced by it, and we cannot escape that and we do not want to escape that. It is with this background that we start and then we come up against certain hard realities of the situation. One of the hardest realities of the situation was what happened immediately after partition, that is to say, that blood bath that took place and migrations which was a terrible thing, terrible not merely because of the evil it embodied, but much more terrible because it was 'terrible'. Well, somehow or other we survived it and gradually tried to combat that evil, with what success it is for you to judge. But certainly I think with a large measure of success. I am not measuring success by merely the governmental or police activities or suppression of people or their ideas, but rather in terms of the mind and the spirit. Of course, they are more enduring.

So during all this period we suffered from a conflict of the spirit and it was a very difficult time for all those who had any responsibility to shoulder in the Government of this country. And many of the schemes we had built up in the past had to be put aside; we had to deal with the day to day situation which almost overwhelmed us.

Now, to go back a little, India thus approaches these world problems in a particular individual way. That does not mean that she considers herself superior to others, but it is a distinctive approach of her own which is coloured by western thought and western political theory and which is powerfully influenced by her own way of looking at things, more specially by the tremendous personality that impressed himself upon India, Mahatma Gandhi. Now, in the past, India became an emblem of the western type of classic imperialism. It is now her mission and business to help in the reorientation of the relations of the East and the West and gradually to make them normal. They have been abnormal in the past. When I say that I am of course thinking of Europe for the moment because Europe and not America has had to deal with Asia. Now of course America comes into the picture very much but not with that past heritage which Europe carries. So that until there is a proper balance between the East and the West—I am not using these words in the sense of Russia and western Europe—there will be trouble and difficulty and there will be a lack of understanding of particular situations, and

these big problems and conflicts will be judged with a lack of true perspective. Now I think India is trying, other countries also no doubt, but India is a little more conscious and she is consciously trying to bring this relationship of the East and the West on a sounder and a more stable footing of understanding, of helping each other and not thinking that the centre of gravity lies in Berlin or Paris or London or even in Washington. There is no centre of gravity anywhere; you have to take the world as it is, and if you think the centre of gravity is in one place and you think of the others as being outside the pale you will get a completely wrong kind of picture. Certainly Asia with all her weakness and suffering is waking up, as you know, and there is a great deal of vitality in her, and it cannot tolerate the idea of any kind of foreign domination—political or economic, or interference in its affairs. It welcomes complete cooperation on friendly and equal terms.

Now looking back over these two years, someone asked me about the refugee problem, which really has been our biggest headache and will continue to be so for a number of years. We cannot imagine that it is possible to solve it completely. Nevertheless while we are, all of us, worried by what we have not done, the great part remains. Think also of what we have done, because it is a very big thing that we have done. I shall give you some figures which were supplied to me today and may interest you.

Families settled on land or expected to be settled in the next two months:	4,96,236
Others moved from one part to another:	72,000
Total:	5,68,236
Persons accommodated in evacuee houses:	1,40,00,000
Houses and tenements already completed:	12,400
Houses and tenements under construction:	9,500
Sites for house development:	8,100

Q: Do these figures include East Punjab?

JN: I think they must.

Loans: 36,000 persons have been sanctioned loans to the extent of over 5 crores. In addition 44 lakhs have been sanctioned for displaced persons from East Pakistan. 157 cooperative societies have also been given loans.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Employment:	1,11,000 displaced persons covering about 4,00,000 dependents have been placed in employment by the Employment Exchanges. In addition 870 displaced persons of high qualifications have been secured in employment by the Special Employment Bureau. 6,500 displaced Government servants have found employment by the Transfer Bureau. At present 10,000 persons are receiving training in technical and vocational training centres.
Evacuee shops allotted:	25,600
New shops planned:	19,145
New shops already constructed:	9,200
Rural loans:	3,00,00,000

These latter figures relate to Delhi. They are the figures of our Ministry. I do not think they include places like Bombay.

Q: It is impossible that 25,000 evacuee shops have been allotted in Delhi.

JN: Probably other places are also included. But this number does not include pavement shops.

I shall now give some other factual information. Among the schemes to which we attached very great importance were our river valley schemes, because they were going to be the sources of power which is most important for the development of more food, irrigation, prevention of floods, prevention of soil erosion, and so forth. Unfortunately, many of them were delayed or held up by happenings here. But I am glad to say that some of them are now proceeding with some speed. In these schemes are included:

The Bhakra and Nangal Canal projects: These are over Rs 100 crores schemes: they produce 4,00,000 kilowatts.

The Tungabhadra Dam project³¹ in Madras and Hyderabad: This is a big scheme.

31. A joint irrigation project of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, the Tungabhadra project consisted of a 2,441 metres long and 49.33 metres high dam on the Tungabhadra river. The project was completed in 1956. It has an irrigation potential of 3.92 lakh hectares of land.

The Damodar Valley Corporation.³²

The Hirakud Dam³³ of Orissa and the Mor project in West Bengal.

These are actually under construction.

There is also the Kakrapara project³⁴ on the Tapi. We hope to finish it in two years.

Then the Kosi Dam³⁵ project. This, at present, is approaching the construction stage. There are others, but more or less in the planning stage.

Talking about water supply, I should like to draw your attention to a piece of news which you might have seen but not perhaps appreciated fully. That is the discovery of underground water in the Rajputana desert.³⁶ There is something dramatic about discovering water in the middle of a desert, just under the surface of the desert, and discovering it in fairly large quantities. Those of you who are acquainted with Indian history might remember that this Rajputana desert had not been such a big desert in the past at all. It was a highway for the trade between the great port of Broach or Barytza, as it was known in the Greek and Roman times, and northern India, when huge caravans used to pass through this area. So the desert has grown, and in fact it is growing today. It has reached a part of the U.P. and every year it grows in the U.P. There are various reasons for its growing.

32. The Damodar Valley Corporation, a project for unified development of irrigation, flood control and power generation in West Bengal and Bihar, was established in 1948. It consisted of multipurpose dams and hydel power stations at Tilaiya, Konar, Maithan and Panchet, a barrage 692 metres long and 11.58 metres high at Durgapur, 2495 km. of irrigation canals and three thermal power houses at Bokaro, Chandrapura and Durgapur. It would have an irrigation potential of 5.15 lakh hectares and power generation capacity of 1,181 mw., 1,077 mw. of thermal and 104 mw. of hydel power.
33. The main Hirakud Dam in Orissa, the world's largest dam, 4,801.2 metres long impounds 815-crore cubic metres of the Mahanadi waters. The project irrigates an area of 2.51 lakh hectares. The present installed power generation capacity of dam is 270.2 mw.
34. The Kakrapara project in Gujarat was the first phase of the development of Tapi Valley. A weir near Kakrapara in Surat district 621 metres long and 14 metres high was completed in 1953, and most of the canals and distributories have been completed. Its irrigation potential is of 2.28 lakh hectares.
35. The multipurpose Kosi project in Bihar envisaged irrigation, flood control and other benefits, for which an agreement was signed between India and Nepal in 1954 and revised in 1966. The barrage near Hanumannagar in Nepal was inaugurated in 1965. With an irrigation potential of 4.34 lakh hectares, the Kosi canals project provides for construction of main canal, 112.65 km. long taking off on the right bank of Kosi barrage at Hanumannagar. The flood embankments under the project were completed in 1959.
36. In 1948, the findings of Kailash Nath Kaul, a botanist of Kanpur Agriculture University, indicated the presence of large quantities of subterranean water in Rajasthan. In June 1949, Jivaram Durlabji alias 'Paniwala Maharaj' of Jamnagar also confirmed the existence of a subterranean lake in Jodhpur. Subsequently an exploratory boring at Samdari near Jodhpur yielded 40 cubic feet of water per second which was sufficient for irrigating 10,000 acres of land.

There is a gap near Kutch from which huge quantities of sand flow in. Because of deforestation there are no trees and this desert grows. Of course there are ways to stop the desert growing and we are going to take those steps. In the heart of the desert in Jodhpur, we find this subterranean water reservoir and it is only about 10 to 12 feet deep down. We do not yet know the exact quantity of water that might be available there but what we know is that what is available is going to be enough for us to run immediately a farm of 12,000 acres in a country that is a pure desert, and in six months' time we hope that area will be growing wheat. We hope to convert, not 12,000 acres, but a much vaster area of the desert as we discover more and more water.

I think one of our records, which is most striking, is the record of our labour movement. There has been a great deal of talk about labour troubles and disputes. As a matter of fact, there has been a progressive decline in labour trouble in the last two years. To give you some figures:

In 1947, there were 1,811 labour disputes and the number of man-days lost was 1,65,62,000.

In 1948, the next year, the number of disputes was 1,259 and the number of man-days lost was 78,00,000 about little less than half the previous year.

In 1949 (we have only four months' figures), there were 424 disputes and 2,25,000 man-days lost.

On the whole, there has been an increase of production, although in some places there has not been.

One of the reasons for the number of disputes lessening is that our mediation, arbitration, and conciliation tribunals are functioning and many provinces and the Central Government have passed legislation to that effect.

In addition to that we have the Employees State Insurance Act. The social security measures contemplated to cover 200 industrial workers and machinery for its implementation is being set up. There is the Minimum Wages Act of 1948,³⁷ which provides for fixation of minimum wages of State industry, including agriculture.

Then there is the Factories Act, 1949,³⁸ providing for a new welfare service

37. This Act provides for fixing minimum wages in certain employments and extends to all the provinces in India.

38. In fact, the Factories Act, 1948. Its provisions became operative from 1 April 1949. The Act consolidated and amended the law regulating labour in factories by repealing the Factories Act of 1934 and the amendments thereto upto 1947 and stipulating minimum requirements regarding health, safety and general welfare of workers. It was extended to all the provinces and also to the acceding Indian States.

in industrial labour. This Act brings us in line with corresponding legislation in more highly industrialized countries. There is the Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Scheme Act. These are the four important Acts passed during the last year.

There is contemplated legislation on the Labour Welfare Act and the Coal Mines Act.³⁹ Then there is industrial housing and coal mines welfare, etc. We are trying to build up a tripartite machinery to ensure close cooperation on labour matters between government, labour and employers—Central, Provincial and States. We have built up employment exchanges on a big scale and technical, vocational and apprenticeship centres and so forth.

About the Housing Ministry, I will only say this that we are building up a housing factory⁴⁰ for pre-fabricated houses, and probably we will build another such factory. We are also experimenting with some special building material which the Forest Institute at Dehra Dun⁴¹ has produced by experiments from bamboos. It is very good.

Q: May I point out that all these data we have already received? We would like you to speak about our economic policy.

JN: About economic policy I don't think it will serve any purpose because I will talk in general terms. The economic policy of this or any country at the present moment, whatever country you may choose to look at, is in a fairly complicated and disturbed state. Now, it is possible to deal with this in a surgical way or in some other way. Possibly, a surgical way may produce more rapid results, but also it may produce worse results and the patient may have a severe relapse. We prefer to deal with the problem rather slowly, not dramatically and taking risks and not having good results quickly, at any rate avoiding bad results. Whatever policy we may pursue in the country, naturally we are tied up with all kinds of things that happen in the various parts of the world, economic trends, etc. And generally speaking, obviously our policy and everything must be based on, whatever you call it, raising the standard of living, etc. That means higher production but

39. The Coal Mines (Conservation and Safety) Bill introduced in Parliament on 8 December 1949 proposed reduction in hours of work, fixed overtime rates, provided compensatory leave and holidays with pay, and made provision for the health and safety of the workers on the lines of the Factories Act, 1949. The Bill was enacted in March 1952.

40. The Hindustan Prefab Limited (earlier known as Hindustan Housing Factory Ltd. founded in 1950) situated in New Delhi, is a Government of India Undertaking. At present, apart from manufacturing prefabricated houses, it specialises in items of reinforced cement concrete components, prestressed cement concrete transmission poles, foam concrete panels, partition and insulation blocks. It undertakes wooden joinery work and has standardized certain pre-cast building components.

41. The Forest School founded at Dehra Dun in 1878 became a recognized centre of forest research in 1906. The first Forest Research Institute was founded on the Chandbagh Estate, Dehra Dun in 1914.

we get into the vicious circle of high prices and high wages. And high prices are so high that high wages do not help very much. We go round and round and consumption becomes less and production becomes less. Now, it is obvious that wages cannot be lowered and must not be lowered. It is obvious also that unless our productive capacity increases, we cannot become more efficient nor can we bring prices down. Therefore, we have to see, while wages remain where they are, and I hope, increase later, the productive capacity of the worker must also increase. There is no other way. Unfortunately, there is a tendency for it to decrease, not only in India, for various reasons or just deliberately doing so. That is a most fatal thing. Therefore, whatever policy you may adopt, it does not matter, every policy must be backed up by greater production at competitive prices so that the prices may go down, consumption may go up and thus help production. That can only happen if the productive capacity of labour increases. That increase can be in two ways: better machinery and better work done by the worker, or by more rationalized schemes. Now, in our country labour has been opposed to rationalization because it leads to unemployment, but there is no other way. We must look after the labour that might be thrown out of employment; it must be a charge on us that they get employment elsewhere. That we can do, but labour must recognize that we have to rationalize, we have to increase output per person, and only then prices can be reduced and wages go up. Well, that is our general approach.

Q: What do you mean by a 'surgical' method?

JN: Suppose we try to push down prices by certain methods, we might put them down, but pushing them down might result in all kinds of complications. It is safer for the prices to come down rather slowly than suddenly to be throttled and pushed down quickly. It may lead to evil results.

Q: Will not greater production repeat the experience at Ahmedabad? Ahmedabad mills are flooded with goods.

JN: I don't think there is too much cloth in the country. It may have been the fault of the mills, of the Government or of the transport system. It was not a fact that there were not enough consumers in India. In fact, very soon all those stocks will disappear.

Q: You talk of rationalization, but rationalization results in unemployment. Have you got any policy to fight unemployment?

JN: You cannot fight unemployment except by more production. That is where

the vicious circle comes. Unless you strike at the root of it and create conditions for more production, you can't fight unemployment. You can't continue to give doles if rationalization results in unemployment. Now, I believe, the Ahmedabad and Bombay mills have gone into the question rather deeply and arrived at some kind of solution, that is, those people who are at the moment unemployed are put on a list and thereafter given employment by giving them first priority.

Q: There are problems we are carrying over to the third year of independence: Hyderabad and Kashmir. May I ask if there is any proposal of installing a popular government in Hyderabad in place of the military government? And is the Kashmir dispute likely to be settled in the third year of independence according to your reading of the situation?

JN: First of all, it is completely wrong to call the present Government in Hyderabad a military government. It is not. There is a Military Governor,⁴² who happens to be a soldier but apart from that it is not a Military Government. It is certainly a Government nominated by Central Government, but it is not a military one. It is proposed to have some kind of elections in Hyderabad on the basis of adult franchise by the end of this year. Electoral rolls are getting ready. The people will elect a constituent assembly and I have no doubt that the constituent assembly will proceed with its business and naturally much depends on what it decides. Whether any major change will happen before that, I cannot definitely say.

As regards Kashmir, you know that recently the ceasefire line was definitely established.⁴³ It must be remembered that this is just a ceasefire line. People get rather mixed up and think it is something more than what is said. Previous to that there were talks. It is a line which tries to lay down what was the position more or less on the 1st of January when firing stopped. It is purely a factual military problem for soldiers to deal with, to show where we are. Difficulties arose in Kashmir because of winter conditions. No political considerations came into the determination of the ceasefire line. It was a purely factual military matter—where people were on the 1st January. So they have come to some agreement about it. That is good insofar as it goes because it puts an end, I hope, to all kinds of incursions, infiltrations, etc. that are going on. The next step is the truce line which need not be the same—which in fact cannot be the same—because in regard to truce all kinds of political and other considerations apply—the history of the case, what has happened and what will happen, and so on. It is not like a ceasefire line or a military line. Thus far no progress has been made in regard to that and I just cannot say when it will be made.

42. General J.N. Chaudhuri.

43. On 28 July 1949, India and Pakistan signed an agreement defining the ceasefire line in Kashmir.

Q: The Government of India has a programme of nationalization of industries after ten years. There have been suggestions from the United States that this particular programme debars U.S. capital from coming into India. In the circumstances would you say whether this programme of nationalization after ten years calls for a revision?

JN: Well, I am glad you put that question to me because it brings out how much misapprehension there is in regard to that matter. What the Government of India has said is not that they will do this or that after ten years. What they said is this. We will not do it in these ten years in respect of certain industries. It is a negative thing rather than a positive thing. That is to say, they said that normally speaking we stand for nationalization of certain key industries which have been named. And, mind you, it is not a programme of today. For the last 15 or 16 years we have been telling this. But we do not propose to touch that now for various reasons into which I will go presently. We do not propose to do it even as our declared programme, certainly not for ten years. Whether we do it after that, it is for us to consider. But the main approach of the Government is this. People talk about nationalization as if that was a solvent for various ills. We feel that nationalization is a thing to be aimed at for a number of reasons especially in regard to vital industries. But what is much more important is greater production. If nationalization increases our production we shall have it in any sector; if it does not then we are not going to have it. That is the test of everything—does it increase our production or not?

Now, nationalization involves our buying up the existing private industries—private plants, and paying heavy compensation for it. Well, we give the compensation and presumably the production is more or less the same, because the plant is the same. It may increase a little more or it may go down a little less, and our money gets locked up in that business. We feel that it would be far better and far wiser to employ our money in new ventures, in new productions than merely to nationalize something which is already producing now. Supposing we nationalize all round and we tie up all the money that we possess, what happens? The production remains exactly the same. We can show in our books that we own them, the Government of India owns them, but generally speaking, production is the same. We may increase it, if you like, by 5 or 10 per cent; or it may come down, I do not know. But the point is that all the capital will be locked up in the nationalization process. It is far better to leave things as they are because they are all working, and use all the material available for new ventures—whether State-owned completely or in conjunction with private capital on the 50-50 basis as we have done. Because new ventures mean more production. So we say we do not touch them for the next ten years. It is a negative assurance. We may not touch them for 15 years or we may not touch them at all. I shall put it to you in another way.

Technology is a rapidly changing process. In fact it changes so rapidly that in countries like the United States which are the most advanced, by the time you build any type of factory or plant, it becomes out of date. Something new has cropped up. So do we have to use those out of date things now? Why should Government go out of its way to acquire out of date plants and pay good money? Let them work. Why should we pay good money to acquire technically backward and out of date plants? If we have got money let us get the latest thing and build that. Let the old thing continue too. These facts now placed before you will show that we will be completely caught up with out of date plants with no resources left for anything new except having the satisfaction that we own these out of date plants. I think it is just silly.

Q: How did England increase production by nationalization? Take coal, for example.

JN: I do not know the figures. If you want to ask me about that, I am all in favour of England taking possession of the coal mines there because there were hundreds and thousands of small petty owners and there was no coordination there.⁴⁴ And I have no doubt that an efficient coordinating system and working would increase production. There they should have done that and if they have done it they have done it rightly. Each case should be judged on its merits. Whether taking that up will increase production or not is the test. It seems to me an academic way to talk whether nationalization is good or not. Take every case and judge it. If it helps us, nationalize it, nationalize it by all means by giving full compensation to the owners. If not, let it continue.

Now, look at these river valley schemes—tremendous schemes. They are all State schemes costing hundreds of crores each. Our whole railway system is State-owned and so many other things. We are building a big steel plant which is going to be big State-owned steel plant. So also this fertiliser factory, an enormous thing at Sindri.⁴⁵ All these things are going up. Why should we divert our money from these new ventures and try to buy up some old ventures which are working well or badly as the case may be?

44. In Britain the public ownership of the coal industry was initiated by the Coal Act of 1938, whereby the State acquired all "unworked coal" then privately owned at a cost of £ 6,64,50,000. Subsequently in 1946 the Coal Industries Nationalization Act was enforced to bring the entire industry under public control at a cost to the State of £ 16,46,00,000.

45. The Sindri Fertiliser Factory, inaugurated in 1948, was expected to supply 3,80,000 tons of ammonium sulphate per year, and produce heavy chemicals like sulphuric acid, ammonium phosphate, soda-ash, urea and explosives.

Q: Does that mean you are not necessarily committed to nationalization after ten years?

JN: We are only committed not to nationalize them within ten years. Each question has to be judged separately. I cannot say what I will do ten years later. I have to judge what my resources are and the best way I can utilize them. Any other way of judging it is, if I may say so, academic which has no relation to reality.

Q: Will you, in view of this realization that nationalization of existing industries is useless, not publicly disown it: that we have no intention of nationalizing at present and if we think it better we will nationalize later on?

JN: I am trying to explain to you that we judge each issue on its merits, not in an academic, schoolboy or college debate way. To nationalize or not to nationalize that has no meaning to me. I take a particular thing and judge on it. Is it worthwhile to nationalize it or not? And we come to certain conclusions because of various reasons. Take textiles, for instance. Some textile mills are collapsing. We won't leave them to go to pieces. We may take possession.

Q: Will it all depend entirely on the circumstances of the case? What will then happen to your assurance?

JN: My assurance has nothing to do with that. In fact, textiles are not even in my list of nationalized industries. The list contains certain basic industries like coal, steel, etc. It is a relatively small list.

Q: Therefore, it is a conditional assurance that if their productivity goes up they will not be nationalized?

JN: We have, for this purpose, prepared three lists.

The first list consists of certain industries which must inevitably be government-owned, for example, defence ammunition factories and the rest. It has nothing to do with economic considerations. We consider that Government must own the defence industries and private people should not be permitted to manufacture arms.

The second list is of certain basic industries which we feel the State should own; otherwise private interests might come in the way of the State at a critical moment, for example, public utilities.

Then there is the third list of industries, which Government may own or may not own, or may own jointly with private parties.

Government is not interested at all in certain industries and in regard to which private enterprises can have free scope. When I say 'Government', I mean the

Government of India, the provincial governments, municipal corporations and allied bodies.

Now, in regard to the second list of industries, which we feel Government should ultimately own, we do not propose to nationalize them, as we have already said, for ten years, because, frankly speaking, we have not the resources to do it. It is even possible that at the end of ten years, if we still do not feel like nationalizing them, we may not nationalize them. But if at any moment an industry fails through incompetence or inefficiency, it is open to us to take steps.

Q: Will that apply to foreign industries as well?

JN: Foreign industries will be governed, inevitably by special arrangements. If, of course, any foreign big scale industry comes, they come on the same terms; otherwise there are special terms.

Q: Your test of greater production ignores one important factor, that is, the consumer's outlook. For example, the sugar industry today is not only fleecing the Indian consumer, it is also not helping the Government in earning valuable foreign exchange. At least it could help us in regard to the deficit trade balance with Pakistan. The same is the case with the textile industry. During the War they made 1,400 per cent profit and the Government could not do anything. Would you look at the problem from the consumer's point of view also?

JN: Of course, there are so many points of view to be looked into and taken into consideration.

Q: When you addressed⁴⁶ the meeting of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry you said in regard to the scarcity of building material, that if there is not enough steel and cement, there is enough of good earth—that was not an unrealistic approach either. But we still hear a lot about pre-fabricated and post-fabricated houses. Why don't you solve the housing problem by adopting the method you suggested?

JN: We have given a lot of attention to the construction of mud houses and a large number of mud houses have been built. But I must say first of all the mud houses are totally unsuited to city areas and we have suffered a great deal both in money and otherwise in the recent floods—so many of our mud houses are gone.⁴⁷ When I talk of pre-fabricated houses, I am not talking about something imported from America or England. Only the method is imported. The material is the mud of this country. Thank you.

46. On 4 March 1949.

47. In the first fortnight of July 1949 due to unprecedented rainfall in Delhi and Faridabad hundreds of mud huts in various camps at Faridabad, Ferozeshah Kotla, Kingsway and Humayun's Tomb had collapsed.

4. Laying the Foundations of the Republic¹

On the second anniversary of our independence, we have to take stock of the past year's achievements and lack of achievement and prepare ourselves for the great work that lies in the coming year. It is by our work and our achievements that we shall be judged, and not by the words we utter.

In the course of this coming year the Republic of India will come into existence and a new chapter in our country's life will begin. One period of transition will be over, another will begin. Slowly, but I hope surely, we are laying the foundations for that Indian Republic for which many of us had laboured throughout our lives.

We have to devote ourselves therefore to work for the common good, thinking always of the good of India as a whole and not of party or sect or province; thinking above all of the common people of India, who carry so many burdens and on whose welfare and contentment ultimately depends the future of India. Economic crises have hit them hard and more especially struck the middle classes. That has not only been our fate but also that of a large part of the world.

We have to remember above all that whatever economic or other policy we might follow, it can only yield fruit if there is peace and order and stability in the country. Out of chaos, nothing worthwhile can emerge. Therefore everyone who has the good of India at heart must set himself against violence and disorder. Everyone also must realize that, as a free citizen of independent India, he has to shoulder to some extent the burden of work and responsibility. Governments, however good they might be, can only function in a limited sphere. A democratic government requires even more the full cooperation and labour of the people in tackling any great problem.

There are many differences among various groups in India and there is a great deal of criticism and often of self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism are always welcome, provided they do not take the place of work. Today India demands work from her children.

There is the problem of food, the primary necessity of humanity. We have given this first priority and in the measure we succeed in this, we shall succeed in the larger economic domain. Each man and woman can help in the production of food in some way or other and in avoiding waste. Unless we are self-sufficient in regard to food, we remain dependent on others. Let us, therefore, each one of us, devote ourselves to the immediate work before us. Out of this work will come a larger measure of cooperation in a common effort and that cooperation will result in the solution of many other problems.

1. Message on the eve of Independence Day, 7 August 1949. Published in the press, 15 August 1949.

If we hold fast to the anchor of our faith, all will be well with us. That means remembering always the message of the Father of the Nation, and the democratic ideals so eloquently expressed in the preamble of the new Constitution that is taking shape.

On this day, which has a historic significance for us, let us think with all reverence of Mahatma Gandhi and his teachings and let us resolve to be worthy of him who led us to freedom.

5. Service to the Nation¹

On this second anniversary of the coming of independence to India I send my greetings to our fellow-countrymen abroad. During this past year we have many achievements to our credit and we have faced many dangerous situations. In many ways we have not succeeded in what we attempted to do. In spite of crisis and difficulty we face the new year with courage and confidence and with full faith in the future of India. All our officers abroad will remember always that it is a high privilege as well as a great responsibility to serve India at any time and more especially during this period of great change and transition. They have to keep the good name of India bright and untarnished and always to keep before them the ideals which have moved us in the past and which inspire us today. So for this coming year we must dedicate ourselves anew to the service of India.

1. Message to Indians abroad on the eve of second anniversary of the independence of India, New Delhi, 7 August 1949. *National Herald*, 15 August 1949.

6. The Democratic Ideal for India¹

I wish to extend my greetings to you, members of the Town Meeting of the Air,² and welcome you to this ancient city of Delhi, which has experienced many

1. Message recorded on 13 August 1949 for Town Hall Incorporation of New York, and broadcast from New Delhi on 16 August 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 19 August 1949.
2. The meeting was organized by a delegation of the Town Hall Incorporation of New York, an institution which organizes periodical broadcast meetings for discussion of important public issues.

thousands of years of human history. We welcome you as representatives of a great country and as men and women of goodwill, who seek understanding of others and a way of cooperation for the solution of the world's problems. Soon I shall be going to your country and I am looking forward greatly and with some excitement to this first visit of mine to America.

Your watchword is democracy and we in India are also wedded to the democratic ideal and the democratic process. We want to adhere to that ideal, because we think that it was something of great value for humanity. At the same time all of us, and more especially we in Asia, are confronted by great and basic problems which demand urgent attention. Essentially these problems are how to raise the living standards and well-being of our masses, how to provide them the primary necessities for a civilized existence. Democracy has to find a solution for these problems, for they cannot wait for a future date. Our approach therefore has to be in terms of what benefits and raises the common man and woman. Therefore, democracy has to extend its scope from the purely political to other fields so as to find a solution for these vital problems.

7. Two Years of Independence¹

I had flown the tri-colour for the first time from these ramparts two years ago. Two years have gone by in our lives and two years have been added to the thousands of years of India's history. Two years are not very long in many thousands of years of history. But all of us have witnessed a great many ups and downs, rejoiced over many events and have felt great sorrow too. We are birds of passage and will go after our work is done. But the work that we do will be enduring and will be taken up by others only if it is worthwhile. India too will go on while people come and go.

There are grave problems before us and we are imprisoned and crushed by them. But we must face them and try to overcome them because our work will not be over until we solve those problems and millions of people in India have a better life. But sometimes it is proper to rise above our immediate preoccupations, look ahead, and see what is happening around us. We must forget our personal problems and think of the country.

1. Address to the nation from the Red Fort, Delhi, 15 August 1949. Translated from Hindi. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.

There was a time when the lamp lit by a great human being brought warmth to our hearts. Mahatmaji's voice used to reverberate in our ears and hearts, and millions of us in India left our homes and our petty preoccupations, even forgetting our families, property and money, and jumped into the fray. At that time there was no question of personal benefit or position or office. The only goal was how to serve the country best and lead her to freedom. We dreamt a great dream, and very often there was a kind of madness, an obsession in all of us to make it come true. We dreamt of India's freedom and with it the alleviation of the misery of millions. It was a great task.

Well, we got political freedom for India but another great problem remained unresolved. The problem was to ensure that all the people enjoy the benefits of that freedom. In the meantime, another great disaster descended upon us. Sixty lakhs of refugees poured into the country and they had to bear great hardships. All of you know how we faced that problem. We made mistakes but by and large, we were successful and somehow we stumbled on. We went ahead because we possessed strength and even hardships could not deter us. In my opinion, if you look at these two years, you will find a great many ills. But you will also see that India is forging ahead and consolidating its freedom. In spite of all our weaknesses and mistakes, the inner strength and self-confidence of the country pulls it forward.

What was the source of the strength which had propelled us towards freedom? In what did we put our confidence in, that we were able to challenge the might of a great empire? We did not look to other countries for help. Nor did we put our trust in arms. We put our faith in ourselves, in our courage and inner resources, in a great leader and in the ultimate analysis in India, and went ahead. Finally we reached our goal after successfully overcoming the powerful forces of opposition. Why then should we be afraid of anything today or give in to panic and anxiety?

I agree that there are grave economic problems before us. I agree that there are millions of our refugees who have not been properly rehabilitated yet. We have to solve these problems. But there was something which helped us all along and sometimes even propelled a handful of men into acts of great daring which in turn influenced the rest of the country, and transformed the destiny of the nation. Is independent India lacking in that strength which enabled us to bring about a great revolution in the country? I feel that we possess that strength in abundance, even more so than before. The only drawback is that our minds are wandering a little and we get bogged down in petty issues and forget the larger ones. As citizens of a great country, we have to be large-hearted and broad-minded. Small men cannot do big things. They cannot solve problems by shouting slogans or making a noise or complaining and abusing one another. If each one of us, men and women, do our duty well, we will benefit personally and as a nation. If everyone thinks that it is the other man's job, this country cannot get anywhere. Everyone must do his duty.

Our armed forces are excellent and the men have great courage. Our young men in the air force and navy too are good. They must all do their work well. Our government servants in various positions, big and small, must discharge their duties well and if the common people do their duty and all of us cooperate together you will see how quickly India can progress. But if we keep criticizing others instead of doing our own work, nothing can be done.

On this day, once again, I want to remind you, that we fought for freedom without arms, outside help, or money. Who fought? There were great leaders in the forefront and the biggest was, of course, Mahatma Gandhi. But, ultimately, the struggle for freedom was waged by the humblest of peasants and the poorest men in the country. The entire burden fell upon their shoulders. How did they win in the end? They won because they had courage and confidence in themselves and their leaders. If you compare those days to the present, you will find that we possess far greater strength in every way to fight against external as well as internal enemies. Therefore, it is strange that we should lose heart now and keep complaining. You must have confidence in yourselves and in the country. If we lacked confidence in our country and its future, how could we have done all that we did in the last thirty to forty years? Mahatma Gandhi was like a great beacon light who illumined our hearts and the bright star of independent India's future beckoned to us and gave us courage. It lightened our greatest burden. When we have far greater strength now why should we betray weakness and squabble among ourselves? The fact of the matter is that we have nothing to fear from outside. If the inner voice does not guide us properly, we will become weak. Internal disunity will weaken us further. We must learn this lesson well because it is a great testing time for all of us. It is always a testing time but specially so now, at this juncture in our history.

We have completed one great task. Another task remains to be done. That is the task of improving the economic condition of the country and alleviating the hardships and sufferings of the common people. It is by no means an easy task and it is possible that we may not complete it in spite of our best efforts. Anyhow, we shall do our duty and those who follow us will carry on from where we leave. The tasks of a nation are never ending. People come and go but a nation is immortal.

There is a great task waiting to be completed. You must bear in mind two or three important things. One, no matter what our policies are, we cannot do anything unless there is peace in the country and an opportunity to work. I am saying this because many of our misguided youth indulge in hooliganism, rioting, killing and throwing bombs. I am amazed that any sensible thinking individual can do such unpatriotic things. No matter what our policies are, we can achieve nothing so long as there is chaos in the country. The only result will be the downfall of the country.

How are we to eradicate the poverty which afflicts the country? There are ways of doing so in an independent country. You have the right to change the laws, even the government. But it has to be done by peaceful, lawful methods. If some people insist on following the path of violence, it proves many things. Firstly, it

proves that they do not believe in democracy. Secondly, it would seem that they are prepared to allow the people to fall into a worse condition and suffer greater hardships, in the hope that things will improve twenty years hence. It is quite certain that at the moment, the only consequence will be to increase the misery of the people.

I am amazed that some of our youth think that they can serve the country by hooliganism and rioting. What amazes me even more is that even people who say that they are opposed to lawlessness actually side with these elements in the political field. They do so for some small benefit in elections. Elections come and go and defeat or victory is quite natural. But the problems before us are far greater than victory or defeat in elections. It is a question of India as a whole. If we forget that, and for personal ends or for the gain for the party we do something then who will be answerable for this crime? Therefore I want you to understand clearly that India can progress only when people stop fighting and do not indulge in hooliganism, but learn to work peacefully. This is the first thing.

Secondly, we must keep the larger issues before us and not allow ourselves to get bogged down in petty issues. Otherwise the larger issues get eclipsed and we will be submerged in a flood of petty preoccupations. We cannot allow that.

Thirdly, we must have confidence in ourselves. We want friendship with the whole world. We also want that there should be amity among the millions of people in the country, irrespective of their caste, religion, occupation or province. We want that there should be love and cooperation among the people. We will accept any help that comes from outside. But ultimately we must have confidence in ourselves and not rely on outside help. We must always bear this in mind because those who rely on others become weak and when help from outside fails, they are helpless.

Real freedom does not come from relying on others for military and economic protection. As I said, we have no enmity with others. We have no desire to interfere in the affairs of others. Every country has the right to follow the path it chooses, economically, politically and ideologically. It is not our business to interfere or cause upsets. Just as we want other countries to have freedom to act as they like, we too want the same freedom in our country. We cannot tolerate interference in our internal affairs or in our freedom. Therefore, we have evolved a policy to keep aloof from the big power blocs in the world. We have friendly relations with both the blocs and yet maintain our freedom to follow the path we have chosen. We feel that this is the policy best suited for our country and also because we feel that it is the only one by which we can serve the cause of world peace.

If war breaks out in the world, it will bring ruin upon the world and India. A war in today's world is capable of destroying the whole world. Therefore, it is our policy to throw our weight on the side of peace. We have evolved the policy of nonalignment in the hope that we can serve the cause of world peace and perhaps help to reduce the tensions and enmity among the great powers in the world.

You may have heard that I am going to visit one of the most powerful countries of the world very soon.² I shall be carrying the message of love and friendship on behalf of all of you. We want to maintain our freedom in every respect and extend a hand of friendship to all the countries of the world. We do not want enmity with any country.

There have been great revolutions in Asia in the last few years. You must have read in today's newspapers about the coup in a small but famous country in Asia.³ I do not wish to comment on that. But I want to show you that the moment there is slackness and a veering away from the path of peace, there can be no stability. The country then becomes weak and falls.

In another great and ancient country of Asia, there have been great upheavals and revolutionary changes. We feel that the people of that country have the right to do as they choose. It is not our business to interfere in their freedom or internal affairs or economic arrangements. We want friendship with everyone. What the people choose is right for that country. There can be no coercion in freedom.

So on this day, let us look at these problems and try to learn something. The Constituent Assembly is drawing up the Constitution for India. In a few months India will don a new garb of a republic and the new Constitution will come into force. That is proper. But ultimately a nation is built not by laws and constitutions but by the courage, strength and ability of the people. The constitution-makers will draw up a constitution. But real history is written by the deeds and minds of brave men. The question is how much courage we have to write the history of India with our blood, sweat, toil and tears. If we have the courage the Constitution will be effective. Otherwise if we are bogged down by petty quarrels and refuse to cooperate with one another, we will prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. The Constitution will not be worth the paper it is written on.

However I have full confidence in the future of India. I am convinced that it will grow from strength to strength. I do not mean military might, though that is necessary too. But the real strength of a nation lies in its capacity to work hard. If we are to remove poverty from India, it will be done not by passing laws or shouting slogans but by the hard work of every single man, woman and child. There is no time for rest now. You must not think that now that we have got freedom we can sit back and relax. This is the time for hard work. This will be the work not of slaves but of an independent nation for future generations. It is an auspicious task which gladdens the heart. You must remember that every brick and stone that we put in place in this great edifice will endure for centuries. We may pass on

2. Nehru visited the United States from 11 to 22 October and from 26 October to 7 November 1949.
3. The coup took place in Syria on 13 August 1949, when President Colonel Husni Zaim and Premier Mohsin el-Barazi were deposed by a dissident army faction headed by Colonel Sami Hinnawi.

but they will serve as reminders of the times when the strong foundations of independent India were laid and when men, women and children toiled to build this edifice. So it is our task to build the edifice of independent India.

The most urgent problem before us is of food. There should be no wastage. Anyone who indulges in wasteful consumption in feasts, etc., commits a crime against the nation. When people are starving, it is a crime to waste food by holding feasts.

We must take hold of ourselves and understand the responsibilities of a free nation. We must march ahead with heads held high, quietly but firmly in tune with one another. If we are determined to do all this, we can solve our problems quickly. The problems will somehow get solved. We will pass on. But the important thing to bear in mind is that India will go on forever.

You and I are born at this juncture in India's history. Let us show what we are capable of and do what we can in the service of India. This is a question which all of us must ask ourselves and help in this task. *Jai Hind.*

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

1. To Ravi Shankar Shukla¹

New Delhi
June 24, 1949

My dear Shuklaji,

You know that among our many big problems, the food problem is perhaps the biggest at the present moment. Everything else seems to turn round it. We have talked a lot about it and put out appeals repeatedly. Yet somehow no great progress has been made and there is no public realization of the seriousness of this problem or of the steps that everyone must take to solve it.

We have declared that we must do away with food imports within two years or so. I am quite sure this can be done and that this will be done. But it will only be done if we set about it in right earnest. I sent for Lord Boyd Orr, one of the greatest experts on the subject, and he came here and advised us. His principal suggestion was that we must function in regard to the food problem as if we were in a war emergency. He gave the instance of England during the last war, where a great effort yielded 26 per cent more production in the course of a year. He recommended to us that we must have a quicker machinery both at the Centre and in the provinces for implementing our policies. We have accepted most of his recommendations and we have now to think of this machinery. We want to appoint a food commissioner with large powers to deal with the Grow-More-Food Campaign all over the country. He will have advisory boards attached to him, but the chief responsibility will be his to carry out the policies laid down by the Cabinet.

It is important that we should choose the right person for this vital position of food commissioner or whatever he may be called. Unfortunately ideal men are not to be had. We should like a man acquainted thoroughly with the food problem, and at the same time able and with executive capacity and with knowledge of how to deal with men. He must have dash and energy and above all he must be able to help in striking the imagination of the people in regard to this problem. To find all these collected in one person is exceedingly difficult and so I suppose we have to think in terms other than the search for an ideal person. Among the various persons we have thought of in this connection is your present Food Minister, Patil.² I do not know him particularly well. But from occasional meetings he has produced a good impression upon me. I am writing now just to convey to you this problem that is troubling me and to find your own reaction to my suggestion.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. R.K. Patil (1907-1990); joined I.C.S., 1930 and resigned, 1943; Minister for Food and Agriculture, Central Provinces, 1946-49; Commissioner for Food Production, Government of India, 1949-52; Member, Planning Commission, 1950-53; later joined Vinoba Bhave's Sarvodaya movement.

We have not decided anything at all. Nevertheless we shall have to decide fairly soon. I want your advice in this matter, specially about Patil. If, on the whole, we think he ought to come here, I hope you will agree to release him from your Ministry.

As I have said above, this is just a suggestion for consideration and nothing has been decided. Please keep this secret.

I may telephone to you early next week and speak to you on this subject. I might also perhaps ask you then to send Patil here for a day for a talk.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Zamindari Abolition in Bihar¹

With reference to the attached letter from the Governor² of Bihar, it seems to me that the Governor has not appreciated the reasons for bringing the new Bill.³ It was at the express desire of our Cabinet that this new step was taken by the Bihar Assembly. There may be minor objections to it which can be dealt with. But the principle underlying it was approved. We have delayed this Bihar Zamindari legislation far too long and we have to go ahead with it with some rapidity now

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 25 June 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Madhav Srihari Aney.
3. In fact, the Bihar State Management of Estates and Tenures Bill, 1947, was withheld by the Governor since a comprehensive bill, 'The Bihar Abolition of Zamindaris Bill, 1948,' was already under consideration but was facing stiff opposition from the zamindars. The amended Zamindari Bill, passed by the Legislature in April 1949, was placed before the Governor-General for assent. But the Bihar Government, apprehensive of the Bill being challenged in courts, forwarded the Estates and Tenures Bill for the Governor-General's approval as it "wanted to take over lands from private hands of the intermediary class as first step towards abolition of zamindari system." It received assent on 17 October 1949.

if we are to avert a dangerous situation there.⁴ You might inform the Governor-General's Secretary⁵ of this.

4. The Bihar Abolition of Zamindaris Act, 1948, received the assent of the Governor-General on 6 July 1949. The Act was challenged in the courts and the Bihar Government, on 20 December 1949, announced its intention to replace this Act and introduced a Land Reforms Bill which was given the President's assent on 11 September 1950.
5. Shavak Ardeshir Lal.

3. A Crusade for Food Production¹

Comrades and Friends,

I feel that I have been very remiss during the past many months, absorbed as I was in my normal work. I had not been able to give much time to speaking to you, either through the radio or in public meetings. I feel that I ought to make good this omission insofar as I can. Unfortunately the days of the months are limited and so are the hours and minutes of the day. I hope, however, to speak to you much more often than I have done in the past. It is necessary, in a democracy especially, for the people to understand the policies and activities of Government so that they may approve or criticize them. But criticism or approval are only worthwhile when there is an attempt to understand and a desire to make a constructive approach. In criticism, as in life generally, it does not help much to be merely negative in approach. There are in India today a multitude of critics of Government in the press and on the platform. I am sure they have enough to be critical about, and I, for one, welcome their criticism. But when that criticism loses all balance and proportion and is strident in language, it becomes merely an exhibition of anger and frustration and does not help much. Also the criticism and the consideration of any problem, in order to be worthwhile, must look at that problem in its entirety and its relation to the environment and connected problems. Isolated from these, it becomes a mere academic exercise.

As Prime Minister I must accept both the praise and the blame for the activities of Government and their consequences. I have often said that I am very conscious of the many things that have gone wrong and of the many errors committed. Nevertheless, I address you in no apologetic mood and I have no sense of frustration

1. Broadcast from All India Radio, Delhi, 29 June 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.

in me. I believe that India as a whole has survived many perils during the past two years and has advanced on many fronts. I believe that in spite of our present difficulties, and there are many, India is making good and will solve the problems that confront her. I would appeal, therefore, to all men and women of India, who have the love of this country in their hearts and who have the welfare of her people as their primary objective in life, to view the present situation dispassionately, to separate the major problems from the many minor differences, and to cooperate in the solution of those major problems, for without that solution those relatively minor differences in policy and programme do not come into play at all. I do not appeal to those who do not care for India and her people, who are prepared to see India sink into chaos and oblivion in order to further some other objectives and who, under the guise of attractive slogans, carry on a foul conspiracy based on fraud and deceit and violence to produce chaos in India. Nor do I appeal to those selfish and anti-social elements in the population who can think only of their own individual profit, whether that comes from fair or unfair behaviour, and ignore completely the larger good of the nation.

I have said that I have complete faith in India's future and in her capacity to progress in every direction. Nevertheless, it would be a folly to minimize, in any way, the difficulties that we have to face today. Inflation and high prices have led to a vicious circle, which has caused great suffering to a vast number of our people. In spite of higher salaries, wages and dearness allowances, they have not kept pace with the extra cost of living. The middle classes especially are being crushed and they perhaps suffer even more than the other classes. At the same time, Central and provincial budgets have increased greatly and cannot bear the burden of any further increase in wages and salaries without making the economic situation even worse than it is. No one can view this situation with equanimity. Yet what troubles me most is the general lowering of our normal standards. It is a tragedy that we, who laid so much emphasis on the teachings of the Mahatma and on our high standards of thought and conduct in public life, should forget those teachings and those standards. We may, and we inevitably shall, get over our present economic difficulties. But how will that profit us if we ignore those basic qualities of the the spirit which helped us to gain freedom and without which no nation can be great? Let me not be misunderstood. I am for the moment laying stress on our weaknesses and failings because I am concerned about them. But there is another picture, a picture of constructive work by hard working men and women, a picture of achievement in many fields of national endeavour, and a picture of cooperation in an industrial truce, which on the whole was successful.

I must express my appreciation of the response that industrial labour made last year to our appeal and also the way our railway workers and Posts and Telegraphs staff thought in terms of the larger good of the country and decided not to strike. I can tell you a great deal of these constructive efforts all over the country, in field and factory, of great schemes going ahead and gradually building, brick by brick,

the new India, where standards of living will be progressively higher and poverty and ignorance may gradually fade away.

But my purpose today is not to speak to you about these various themes, fascinating as they are. I want to speak to you about one particular subject, that of food—the primary necessity of mankind and the basic problem for us today. This Government inherited an undeveloped and unbalanced economy of India, backward both in industry and agriculture. The war period had made this worse. The partition of the country, with all its consequences, added tremendously to our burdens. Inflationary forces set at work and prices went up, while production, both agricultural and industrial, remained at a low level. It is clear that, whatever policy we might adopt, it must aim at greater production, both agricultural and industrial. Without that the national dividend remains low and there is no room for raising living standards, or salaries or wages. It is clear also that this higher production must not benefit relatively few people only, but must be fairly distributed among the people. Without this higher production we cannot go ahead with those major schemes which promise an accelerated production in future.

We may do without luxuries and even without many necessities but we cannot do without food. If we do not produce enough food in our country, we become dependent upon other countries, and in a matter like food we cannot afford to be dependent. Therefore we have to tackle this problem of food production first of all, and put an end to the deficit that has compelled us to pour money into buying food from abroad. Because of this the Government has laid down a programme which states that we must have enough food produced in the country for all our people by 1951, and that after that date we do not intend to import food. We have not fixed that date without full thought and calculation. We intend to stick by that date, and we intend by that date to be producing enough food for all the millions who inhabit this country. We have taken into account the possible increases in population and we can even dare hope that the individual quota for food than will be somewhat higher than it is today. For today's quota is poor enough. I am convinced that we can do it and that we will do it. But we shall do it only with a great effort, in which vast numbers of our people join and cooperate. And so I appeal to you for this cooperation in a mighty drive for food production, which is ultimately a war against poverty and ignorance, against malnutrition and high prices. It is a war in which every citizen can be a soldier and can serve his or her country. All of us will have to work hard and all of us will have to tighten our belts.

What is this food problem? Owing to various causes, in which I need not go into now, we have a food deficit this year of about ten per cent. A part even of that ten per cent has been caused by a very special misfortune that befell us this year—drought in some places, floods in other places and a serious famine in Gujarat and Kathiawar. It is well to remember that in spite of this famine which afflicted Gujarat not a single person, to my knowledge, died of lack of food there. So even

ten per cent may be rather an outside figure for our food deficit. Let us, however, put the additional figure that we have to reach by 1951 at fifteen per cent of our present food production. Is that a very high target to aim at? I do not think so. We are thinking at present of the next two and a half years. Some years after that, our great river valley and other major schemes will begin to produce results, and then production will go up by leaps and bounds. I am not worried at all about that period. It is the next two years that count and are vital and which will govern our future. It is the short-term programme for these two years that I wish to emphasize.

The first item of this programme is intensive and better cultivation of the land at present being cultivated. It is well known that the yield per acre in our country is very low compared to most other countries. It should, therefore, be easily possible for us to increase that yield by at least fifteen per cent, given the right methods. I am referring here to the land at present under cultivation. Even that land, therefore, should yield to us this additional fifteen per cent, if we can provide manure, fertilizers, better seeds and, generally, better methods of cultivation. I might inform you that experiments on a small scale have shown that, given these facilities and better methods, the yield increases by far more than fifteen per cent.

The second item of this programme is the growing of supplementary foods and I should like to lay special emphasis on this. Our people subsist mostly on wheat and rice and we have, therefore, to lay stress on these two basic cereals. But there are other good foods, apart from cereals, which are not only good for us from the point of view of a balanced diet, but which can easily be produced in far greater quantities than wheat and rice. These substitutes for cereals are sweet potatoes, tapioca and bananas. There are others also. In some countries bananas and sweet potatoes form almost the staple article of diet. I am not asking you to go thus far. But in the emergency of today it is important that we use foods other than wheat and rice to the largest extent. That will reduce our import of wheat and rice. I might add that a mixture of wheat and sweet potato flour is excellent, palatable and beneficial. It is a small thing for each of us to change this food habit slightly and eat these substitutes for cereals to some extent. Every country has done so under stress of war and emergency. Are we so tied down to habit that we cannot do something that the good of the nation requires? It is necessary, therefore, for every town and village to put a few new acres of land under cultivation and this cultivation should be chiefly devoted to sweet potatoes, tapioca and bananas. In our towns and cities there are many compounds which should be used for cultivating any of these foodstuffs or vegetables. I love flowers, but today the sight of a cluster of bananas is sweeter to my eyes than any flower. Government will help in every way in encouraging this cultivation of substitutes for cereals. Provincial governments may well buy them up and use them as rations, mixed or not, on some days in the week.

There is one thing else that I consider most important and to which I would like to give earnest thought. While we should all try to limit our consumption of wheat and rice and take as far as possible to other foods, it is of special importance to reduce the consumption of rice in this country. At present the import of rice from abroad costs us much more than the import of wheat. At present prices double the quantity of wheat could be imported for the same price of rice. It is probable that the price of wheat will go down and the difference be even greater. Some figures may interest you. Owing to the War there was hardly any import of rice between 1941 and 1944. In 1945, 70,000 tons of rice were imported. In 1946, 3,31,000 tons were imported. In 1947, 4,54,000 tons and in 1948, 8,00,000 tons. This shows that we are consuming more and more rice when we should be trying our utmost to reduce its import. It shows that we have imported rice at the cost of a far greater quantity of wheat. It shows that most of us have paid no heed whatever to this very serious problem, and though we talk loudly about the food problem, we do not think that it affects our individual lives.

The food problem is ultimately the totality of what happens in millions of homes. It is astonishing that we should be so prodigal in our consumption of rice when every consideration demands that we reduce it. Remember that we produce ourselves twenty million tons of rice, so that our total import, even at the high level of 8,00,000 tons, is a very small proportion of our total requirement. To give up this import of rice completely by taking to other foods would thus be a very small sacrifice, and it would mean a great difference to the country's economy. Many of us eat bread as a rule and use rice more or less as a luxury article. I suggest that those of us, who normally eat bread, should give up rice completely. Those for whom rice is the principal diet should reduce their consumption a little, and take to wheat or other foods. This can hardly be called a sacrifice, because so very little is given up. As a matter of fact it would lead to a more balanced diet and consequently better health for the nation. May I add also that polished rice which looks so attractive has little nutritive value and the sooner the use of it is given up the better? I have mentioned only some ways, which I consider important, in which each one of us can help. There is much else that we can do, but I do not wish to lengthen this list at present. Let us concentrate on these.

Let us remember also that every improvement in production, industrial or agricultural, as well as every increase in the speed of transport helps to solve the problem. If the railways could carry ten per cent more than they do today, that would result in a quicker and easier movement of goods and would help in lowering prices. If the dock workers could load and unload a little more speedily, shipping charges would go down. If people working in offices, government or private,—and I include in this that forest of offices called the Secretariat in New Delhi—could work a little more efficiently and speedily, production all round will go ahead. There need be no fear of unemployment, because when production goes ahead, there

is more work and more employment. The farmer need not be afraid that he is ever going back to the pre-War situation. That could never happen. So my appeal is to all classes of workers to join in this great drive for more production all round and more especially on the food front. The farmer comes first, of course, but all others have also a responsibility and a duty.

May I add that procurement of foodgrains within India is an essential part of this programme, because the more we procure the more we lessen the deficit that has to be made good by import? Some people have unwittingly come in the way of procurement. That is a very unwise policy which does harm to the nation. It does not do good to the farmers even, although some may imagine so, for the farmers' good is bound up with the national good today even more than at other times.

There is another thing of great importance, both practical and psychological. There must be no waste and there must be no feasting while we fight for every ounce of food. I trust that there will be rules made to limit this feasting business strictly. But it is primarily to the good sense and decency of people that I appeal. To waste food at any time in a vain display is the height of vulgarity. In these times it is a crime. Public opinion must condemn this, so that any person who indulges in this waste is looked upon as doing something that is indecent and anti-social.

About two months ago I invited Lord Boyd Orr, one of the greatest authorities on food, to come here and advise us. He was good enough to come and study our problem. He approved generally of the policy and programme that we were following, but he made it clear that in his opinion the present situation was a serious one and that any policy would be of little avail unless we did three things.

Firstly, that we must treat this as if it was a national war emergency and have a machinery which can function swiftly and efficiently without the normal delays of the governmental apparatus. Therefore he suggested that there should be a food controller or a director of food production at the Centre with large powers and similar controllers of food production in each province and State.

Secondly, that there must be perfect coordination and cooperation between the Centre and the provinces and States.

Thirdly, that we must reach down to the farmer in the field, that is, there must be links from the top policy-making place to the farmers who have ultimately to carry out that policy. The farmer must understand and must willingly cooperate. The understanding and cooperation of the farmers was most important.

Lord Boyd Orr had personal experience of the food production campaign in the United Kingdom during the War. He spoke thus from knowledge. In the United Kingdom, I think, during the War years food production went up by over 25 per cent and the people were wise and patriotic enough even to change their food habits to meet the exigencies of the situation. We have to face a similar situation though there is no war, and we have to make a similar all-out effort. It is absurd

for anyone to say that he cannot vary his food habits by a little, whatever may happen to the country. If we do not vary these habits a little willingly, we may have to vary them much more later by force of circumstances whether we like it or not.

The Government of India have accepted the recommendations of Lord Boyd Orr and will endeavour to give effect to them to the best of their ability. But the acceptance itself involves the full cooperation of the provinces and States with the Centre as well as the enthusiasm of the farmer in this great task. We shall appoint soon a food controller or commissioner at the Centre with considerable powers to act speedily and effectively. We want each province and State to do likewise.

My appeal is to every person in India. May I make a special appeal to Congressmen to join more particularly in this crusade? Let them be examples to others and go to the villages and to the farmers and explain to them the gravity of the situation and the steps we must take to overcome it. Let them themselves join in the labour of the field or elsewhere. Let them show some of the grit and capacity for service in a great cause, which in the past made the Congress great and brought us freedom. I want to tell you from time to time what progress we make in this fight for food. The monsoon will soon be upon us and our reclamation work will have to be suspended. The cultivators will be busy tending and protecting their crops and it will be difficult to estimate their work in figures. Nevertheless, I hope to address you at least once a month and tell you of the progress we are making. *Jai Hind*.

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 29, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Patil, C.P. Food Minister, arrived here this afternoon. I have had a talk with him and he has also met Jairamdas. Jairamdas is laid up because of a bad foot and he could not come to the Cabinet meeting today.

I am favourably impressed by Patil. He seems to have energy and ideas. He appears to be agreeable to coming here, but wants a few days to consult some friends before he gives his final answer. Shuklaji has written to me that he would gladly spare him, if we want him. I hope that you will also press Patil to come here. I should like to make the announcement as soon as possible. However it does not very much matter if it is delayed by a week or so. In any event he will take some time to wind up his affairs in Nagpur.

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 235-236.

We have not gone into the question of the set-up of the Food Commissioner here, his powers, etc. We have vaguely said that he will be given large powers. I think that we should make it perfectly clear in Cabinet that he will have these large powers. He will of course be under the Minister. But that should not mean that he cannot function without the Minister's approval at every stage. I have suggested to Patil that he should start in a relatively small way, so far as staff is concerned. If necessity arises, he can add to it. Probably it will be best to transfer to him a joint secretary who is already functioning in Agriculture. In fact most of the work of Agriculture Ministry is food production. In particular we must devise a set-up in which the normal secretarial routine does not come in the way.

I have not spoken to Patil about the salary he would draw here. What do you suggest? It cannot be less than 2,000 and it must not be more than 2,500. No allowances or house rent, etc.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
July 1, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

I enclose a press cutting of an article² by R.K. Sidhwa³ and a letter from Calcutta. I shall be grateful if you will have an answer sent to the letter.

Whatever steps we might take in regard to food production, it is quite essential that we must have accurate statistics of that production. Thus far, I take it, our estimates are based on what we get from the provinces, who in their turn rely on their *patwaris* and the like. This is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs. The result

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In his article "Is India really deficit in foodgrains" published in *The Tribune* of 30 June 1949, Sidhwa maintained that the provinces on the whole were surplus in food and questioned the statistical projections of the Ministry of Agriculture with regard to population and "average adult equivalent" for the purpose of consumption. He attributed artificial scarcity in foodgrains to the failure of Government to unearth suppressed stocks and emphasized that the distribution of foodgrains between the provinces and States was defective and the cost of movement high.

3. Rustom Khurshedji Sidhwa (1882-1957); Congressman from Sind; Mayor, Karachi, 1939-40; member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-50 and Parliament, 1950-52; Minister of State, Home Affairs, 1951-52.

of all this is that we grope in the dark. We must, therefore, devise some methods of knowing more accurately what we are producing. In England and America this is known with great precision from month to month.

I do not quite know how we should proceed about it. But the obvious course appears to be some kind of sample surveys to test the validity of official surveys. I am consulting our Statistical Department about it⁴ and also sending a note to the provinces,⁵ a copy of which I enclose.

I have a feeling that our production is actually greater than we imagine or given in our figures. Whatever it is, we should know it.

I was rather surprised to see the figures of rice imports during the last three or four years. I mentioned these in my broadcast. It is not clear to me why we should have encouraged more and more rice to come in. I think we should reverse this process now and definitely discourage rice from coming in. We cannot stop it altogether suddenly, but we should at least halve it in the next year. If necessary, we can import the same quantity of wheat instead or even more of it. We would be gainers thereby.

Also some method should be devised to lessen the use of rice in provinces, where wheat is the more common diet. I do not know what system is followed now in regard to rationing, transport, etc. But I would definitely discourage rice being sent to a province like the U.P., or Delhi, or the East Punjab.

Then there is the question of polished rice. I think the time has come for us to take strong measures about it. Will you please give some thought to this matter?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Not printed.

5. See the next item.

6. To the Premiers of Provinces¹

New Delhi
July 1, 1949

My dear Premier,

Any policy or programme that we might adopt about the Grow-More-Food

1. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. I, (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 400-401.

Campaign depends largely on the statistics of production that come to us. Without proper statistics we can form no opinion whatever of progress made or the reverse. What are our present figures based on? I take it that in the final analysis, they are based on a *patwari's* report. It may be taken for granted that this report is incorrect. Therefore our figures have no substantial basis. Probably they are underestimates of production, because the tendency of the grower will be to give a lower figure. Whether they are underestimates or not, they are not precise and cannot be relied upon.

What then is to be done about it? I cannot make a very definite suggestion, except that we should immediately try to improve our statistical methods. It is not possible to have a widespread statistical survey of production. What is possible is to have sample surveys of several selected regions and then compare the results with previous figures received. This will give us some indication. I suggest to you therefore to have such sample surveys made as soon as possible. It will be necessary to repeat this process from time to time. The effect of some sample surveys may also improve the *patwari's* report, because then they will know that there is a possibility of checking.

I am having this matter looked into by our Statistical Department also. But you need not wait for directions from them and you can go ahead immediately.

In my fortnightly letter I have drawn attention to polished rice.² I hope your province will take some action about this, if it has not already done so.

Further I think that we should consider how to reduce the consumption of rice in areas which are predominantly wheat-eating. Those areas should not get any rice at all from outside. The amount of waste of rice in public restaurants is prodigious. I do not know how rations are computed or split up as between wheat and rice in various places. It might be possible by a readjustment of rations to lessen the rice quota and increase the wheat.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 1 July 1949. See *post*, Section 10, item 1.

7. The Drawbacks of Polished Rice¹

In my broadcast on food I referred especially to reducing rice consumption.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 1 July 1949. File No. 31(62)/49-PMS.

Also to the undesirability of polished rice being used. I understand that some governments have already prohibited the use of polished rice, that is polishing of rice by mills. I know that the Central Provinces' Government has done so. I do not know whether other governments may have also done this. Could you ask the Agriculture Ministry or Food Ministry to tell us as to what various provincial governments have done about banning polished rice? The right course seems to be to allow a very small degree of polishing. This preserves the rice and yet maintains its nutritive character.

2. One additional advantage of non-polishing is that the quantity of the rice is more.

3. I should like you to find out from the Home Ministry or the Chief Commissioner² here whether any steps have been taken in Delhi regarding this polishing of rice. Vast quantities of rice are used in Delhi especially by restaurants and wasted and most of it is no doubt bought in the black market. It is difficult to control this. But it can be controlled at the mills. So, it is desirable to take immediate steps to prevent mills from polishing as they have thus far done. That is a step which can immediately be taken, if necessary, by an ordinance. Subsequent steps to reduce the rice quota in rationing might also be considered in Delhi. There are many people who may of themselves indicate that they do not want rice. For instance, I have issued orders in my house that no rice should be used for any purpose.

2. Shankar Prasada.

8. To the Premiers of Provinces¹

New Delhi
July 2, 1949

My dear Premier,

The U.P. Government have been experimenting with village reorganization in a particular way in Etawah district. This experiment includes in its scope a great many things including more production of food. The experiment is in charge of an eminent American planner, Mr Albert Mayer. Mr Mayer has, at my request, sent me a note on this Etawah Pilot Development Project and I feel that I should

1. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol.1, (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 402-403.

share it with you. It might be of some help to your Government, more especially in regard to rural planning and more food production. I am, therefore, enclosing a copy of this note for you.²

You will notice that this project is a multiple one and that it was started only nine months ago. Some definite and promising results have already been obtained in the unit of sixty-four villages in which it is functioning. After a little more experience of results it is proposed to extend the area to about six hundred villages. With the experience thus gained, the whole province can be dealt with in this fashion.³

The important point to note is that social improvement is aimed at so as to make the average villager a better man, a better worker and citizen and more cooperative. Also that the material to be used has to be easily obtainable and relatively cheaper. In the process of doing this work people are trained so that they can carry on the work themselves later in other places. The whole object is not to disturb the roots of the people and yet to raise them to higher levels.

I suggest that this all round approach is worthy of your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. In his note of 29 June 1949, Mayer outlined the various features of the Etawah Pilot Development project, launched on 15 September 1948 in village Mahewa, 30 km. east of Etawah city. Financed by the Government of the United Provinces the project aimed at improving the economic conditions of the people by increasing productivity of land and developing rural industries and cooperatives; promoting the mental and moral development of the people by initiating programmes for the improvement of their knowledge and skills, and inculcating in them ideas of self-government through *panchayats*. Mayer argued that the degree of productive and social improvement could be achieved in an "average district" without the "benefit of any special circumstances" and wondered whether "these methods would be worth reproducing elsewhere." He also suggested measures of cooperation and legislative action by the State for the project.
3. The success of the project paved the way for the United States Technical Cooperation Agreement of 1952 for expansion of the community development programme launched on 2 October 1952. By 1956, the project covered 334 villages.

9. Appeal to Popularize Grow-More-Food Campaign¹

I appeal to all newspapers and periodicals in India to help in popularizing the Grow-More-Food Campaign. This is a matter in which all are agreed without any difference of party or opinion. It is a matter of the utmost importance that this problem should be solved speedily. Government have fixed a date, the end of 1951, by which time the food deficit must be entirely covered. But there is no reason why the problem should not be solved much sooner, if only the nation so wills it.

Newspapers can help in many ways. First of all by incessant appeals for the avoidance of waste of food. Let the public realize how criminal it is to encourage such waste.

Secondly, by encouraging the growth of subsidiary foods and calling upon people to adapt their food habits to the existing situation, more specially for those who eat wheat to give up rice.

Thirdly, for each person who has a small garden or patch of land, to grow some kind of food in it. Everyone should try insofar as possible to reduce his dependence for food on the market by producing what he can.

Fourthly, newspapers can give suitable recipes which may be used in households, more specially for the subsidiary foods.

These are just some suggestions. There are many other ways of keeping this subject before the public and carrying on an incessant drive for greater food production and a more balanced diet.

I shall be grateful if newspapers give their willing cooperation to this urgent task of the nation.

1. New Delhi, 3 July 1949. *The Hindustan Times*, 4 July 1949.

10. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
July 9, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

In today's newspapers I have read about our Food Ministry coming down heavily on the U.P. Government, because the latter did not carry out the instructions issued

1. J.N. Collection.

to them.² Whatever the facts may be, it seems to me not very desirable for a provincial government to be publicly castigated in this way by the Food Ministry. The U.P. Provincial Government is one of our best organized and effective governments and it is hardly proper for these public criticisms to be made in this way by a department of the Central Government. If such a criticism is necessary, it should only be made after careful thought and a reference to the U.P. Premier and possibly to the Cabinet here. We are not likely to get much cooperation from provincial governments if we treat them in this fashion.

I hope you are drawing up some formula giving the powers to the Commissioner for Food Production.³ We shall have to put it up before the Cabinet.

I enclose four letters which, after reading, you might pass on to Mr R.K. Patil. One of these letters is from Justice Mahajan.⁴ Some of his proposals like the one to abolish controls is impracticable at present. But some others are worth considering. I think it would be a good thing to find out exactly what are the economics of the use we have made of tractors. Let each province tell us how much capital they put in and what the results have been.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. It was reported that the Central Government had declined to allot an additional quota of foodgrains to U.P. as it had failed to close the open market in foodgrains in rationed cities and towns and to procure the budgeted quota of foodgrains. To the U.P. Government's argument that ration shops would have to be allotted more quotas if the open market were to be closed in rationed cities and towns, the Central Government replied that the withdrawal of foodgrains from the open market would meet the U.P.'s deficiency in foodgrains and also help in keeping the prices down. So the Central Government directed the U.P. Government to devise its own means since it was keen to stop imports by the end of 1951.
3. R.K. Patil, appointed as Commissioner for Food Production on 2 July 1949, was empowered to take final decisions with regard to food production in Ministry of Agriculture, deal directly with similar executive set-ups in provinces and States, initiate and revise all measures from time to time, sanction grants and loans, make available and secure priority of movement of materials and take all necessary steps to increase food production.
4. Mehr Chand Mahajan.

11. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
July 11, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

Have you followed up my broadcast by issuing any instructions to provinces, etc?

1. File No. 31(62)/49-PMS.

I am told that people who want to replace rice with wheat cannot get the wheat and are more or less compelled to take the rice by the dealers because no other instructions have been given to them. Reports have come to me from as far as Baroda.

In Delhi a tremendous wastage of rice in restaurants and hotels continue. I think something should be done immediately by the Chief Commissioner to put an end to this. It is a scandal and a most irritating one. If I had stayed here a day or two more, I would have called a conference of the Delhi officials and discussed how to deal with this problem. Apart from any formal direction that might be issued, much can be done by fairly strong-worded requests. Formal directions can follow and after those requests and directions, some kind of an inspection should be held regularly of those places where food is doled out. Delhi must set an example. Perhaps you could see the Chief Commissioner and discuss this matter with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

P.S. I have just seen a letter from the Chief Commissioner in which he says that he has taken action to reduce the issue of rice to catering establishments.²

J.N.

2. On 7 August 1949, further changes were made in the existing rationing rules to curtail issue of rice to establishments whose boarders were South Indians and Bengalis.

12. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
July 11, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

Thank you for your letter of the 10th July.² I have read the note³ you have sent

1. File No. 31(46)/49-PMS.
2. In reply to Nehru's letter of 10 July 1949 in which Nehru drew Jairamdas's attention to an item published in *The Statesman* giving figures about the decreasing area in land under cultivation in India, Jairamdas explained that the decrease in acreage was "inevitable where on account of lack of rains cultivators are not able to sow their fields."
3. In the note Jairamdas gave detailed account of abnormal weather conditions, that is, the failure of rains or delay in rains, in different parts of the country which had affected the production and the yield.

to me. Normally speaking, lack of rains or abundance of rain or hail or any other abnormal natural phenomenon, would affect the production and the yield. But it should not affect the sowing except in rare cases. The note does not give us enough information on the subject and a further and more accurate enquiry should be made into this shrinkage of the area under cultivation.

These natural phenomena although abnormal, yet occur from time to time and do not affect the average for a number of years. How far did last year's occurrences prove to be absolutely abnormal?

As regards insects, pests and rust, that too is a fairly common phenomenon. Have any steps been taken to meet it?

Finally, what is the forecast for this year as regards the area under cultivation and the probable yield?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. To C.M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
July 15, 1949

My dear Trivedi,

I have just read your fortnightly letter to the Governor-General, dated the 13th July.

I am glad that you are making progress with your schemes for increased food production. From the figures you give, you can hardly be called a deficit province. All you have to do is to replace wheat by gram. As for rice, East Punjab can well do without it or, at any rate, without the deficit required to be filled in.

You will remember that in my broadcast I did not say much about reclamation of land, sinking of tube-wells, etc. This of course is very important and must be proceeded with. I did not refer to this as it was a governmental measure. I was rather appealing to the public as to what they should do and to the farmers as regards intensive cultivation. If waste is eliminated and a certain change of food habits encouraged both through rationing and otherwise, much can be done. Also increase in growth of subsidiary foods.

I am glad you have made your Deputy Commissioners responsible for food production in your districts.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

I have often heard about the bad quality of the ration supplied. In Calcutta this cry was a very loud one, and I am quite sure that it had a great deal of truth in it. I do not know how matters stand in East Punjab in regard to this matter, but we should try our utmost to see that there is no deterioration in quality by the mixing of non-edible stuffs in our rations. Any person indulging in fraud should be severely dealt with. There might be periodical checks.

As for Tarlok Singh,² I do not want to deprive you of his services till he has finished his present job, but I should like to have him as soon as possible.³...

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. He was at this time director general of rehabilitation (rural).
3. Nehru wanted Tarlok Singh to join the proposed Planning Commission.

14. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
July 19, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

I spoke about the food question to the Executive Committee of the U.P.P.C.C. yesterday, and they passed a good resolution on it.² They have also appointed a member in charge³ and intend having an expert paid officer for propaganda, etc. among the farmers. But, as usual, they have no funds at their disposal. I promised to send them something and I shall do so. But the question arises whether we can help Provincial Congress Committees or other suitable public organizations financially to carry on this food campaign. This has to be done rather cautiously and every possibility of overlapping or conflict has to be avoided. I do not think any big sums are involved. At the same time I think that a Provincial Committee taking it up would help us greatly from the propaganda point of view. I should

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The Committee resolved to set up a committee to organize a fortnight's campaign in the province for 'Grow More Food' and save-more-food; called upon people to observe austerity during marriages and festivities, reduce consumption of rice and "live on grains, vegetables and fruit at least one day a week"; and asked people to use all available land to grow vegetables and fruits.
3. Baba Raghav Das.

like to give the U.P.P.C.C. about Rs 5,000 for this work—to be given in instalments or a monthly sum of about Rs 500 or so. Is it possible for this to be done? I suppose you spend a lot over advertisements. This expenditure through the Congress would probably go further than your advertisements. Anyway I should like you to think about it.

I do not want any special favour to be shown to the Congress organization alone. If there is any suitable organization, we can help it.

Jivaraj Mehta informed me that since my broadcast he was trying to get wheat instead of rice from the local dealers. But the dealers refused to give it, as they said their orders were to give wheat plus rice. Could you not issue instructions that rice need not be given where wheat is asked for?

I saw Patil for a while this morning and we felt that it would be a good thing to take advantage of the provincial Premiers' visit to Delhi to meet them and discuss this food campaign. We might fix up this meeting as soon as they come here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. Delhi and the Grow-More-Food Campaign¹

In furtherance of the Grow-More-Food Campaign it is necessary that all available Government land in Delhi, which can be used for this purpose, should be so used. There are plenty of large compounds where there is room for growing food crops. Will you please, therefore, ask the estate department to take immediate steps to this end? It does not matter if no flowers are grown and if lawns are limited. The main thing is that some kind of foodstuffs should be grown. As to what this should be will depend largely on circumstances and available resources. The Governor-General has already set an example in regard to Government House. All ministers and officials of Government should follow that example.

I was told by Dr Rajendra Prasad that he wanted to use a part of the land attached to his house here for this purpose but that the estate department objected and said that this should not be done. I do not understand this. It is Government's policy

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 20 July 1949. File No. 31(41)/49-PMS.

that every available yard of land should be used for growing food and the estate department should pay particular attention to the implementation of this policy in all lands appertaining to Government in Delhi, whether they are attached to houses or not.

If necessary, tractor ploughing can be arranged. In fact, the Agriculture Ministry has got light Ferguson tractors which can easily be used for this purpose and they will gladly lend them. I am going to have part of my own garden dug up by tractor this way.

16. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
July 20, 1949

My dear Kher,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th July² with its enclosures.

We all agree that the Bombay Government has done the utmost for procurement and in regard to the rules it has framed to prevent wastage of food. We also agree that this problem has to be tackled on an all-India basis and that each province must pull its weight. It is also clear that in the circumstances prevailing in India accurate estimates of food production cannot be made at an early stage.

Nevertheless, it seems to me obvious that some estimates have to be made with such data as might be available, for otherwise we plan completely in the dark and indeed we do not plan at all. We cannot check results and find out exactly how far we come up to the expected standards, because we do not fix any standards and base ourselves vaguely on an attempt to increase production. Any plan to achieve a certain objective by a certain date must be based on specific estimates for each province or other areas, otherwise we just do not get any grip of the situation.

1. File No.31(67)/49-PMS.
2. In his letter Kher reiterated the stand taken by his Government regarding the "proposal to link-up targets of production with the basic plan allocations of food made by the Centre to the provinces," and said that "any such link-up can only be attempted after a reasonably accurate assessment has been made of the actual results achieved from the intensified food production drive." He thought that "it would be unwise to fix our import quota on any calculations made at this stage" and the proper time for that would be only after it was known how far their efforts had succeeded in increasing food production in the Province. He hoped that all States and provinces would abide by the Central directive on consumption of subsidiary foods, and "adopt and enforce uniformly a rigorous system of monopoly procurement and rationed distribution of controlled cereals."

Our estimates are likely to be inaccurate and to be upset by good or bad harvests. Nevertheless, the science of statistics would be little good if it did not allow for variations and uncertainties. Statistics tell us fairly accurately what the birth-rate or death-rate of a nation is as a whole. But it is quite impossible to state how many children a particular couple will have. Yet on the average things are working out in a particular way. Anyway whether statistics can be accurate or not, they are only indices for us to judge present conditions and future results.

Apart from the yield that might come from the land cultivated now by intensive effort, there is the information required about fresh land being brought under cultivation. This may be on a largish scale by government agency. It may be also in innumerable small ways as when private gardens are given up for food crops. Also, as you know, we are laying great stress on subsidiary foods and consider this most important. This should be kept on some kind of estimate.

Suppose there is a war, a world war; it is almost certain that in that eventuality we will not get food imports from abroad. What are we to do then? We shall have to produce food or perish. As it is, our deficit for the whole of India is under ten per cent. That is not much and if all of us fasted for one day in the week, it would be easily covered. Of course all of us would not fast. But the point is that the problem is easily manageable and if a crisis comes even today, we shall have to manage it somehow.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. Highest Priority for Food¹

I regret that in spite of the fact that the food problem is of such great importance, there is no emotional awareness or realization of it. Apart from the financial drain that the food imports are imposing upon us, it has to be realized that we must think in terms of a war crisis and in such an event, we will have to rely on our own resources. Actually, however, we find that the food problem was given much less importance. We consider that there are other problems of greater, primary importance than that, so that the food problem was, often enough, relegated to a secondary place.

1. Speech at the Provincial Premiers Conference, New Delhi, 23 July 1949. File No. 15(51)/49-PMS.

The first thing is to make ourselves and our officers aware of this war nature of the food problem. The next is to create the necessary psychological atmosphere among the people. Now, I have found that things are changing. That of course is the result of many causes. For instance, responsibility today is spread out. An officer, whether he is a district officer or some other officer, does not quite feel his responsibility for producing results as he previously did. He thinks that he is just an automation carrying out certain orders from above. M.L.As. often interfere with his work and ask him not to do this and not to do that, with the result that initiative lessens. The ministers are terribly busy with many day to day problems. No doubt they think about this and pay a great deal of attention to this, but my impression is, I am speaking of the last year or two, that there were other problems which they considered of greater primary importance than the food problem, for example, the law and order problem—which of course is a problem of primary importance, so that the food problem was often enough relegated to a somewhat secondary role. At least the amount of time given by ministries or the government to the food problem was far less than to most other problems. Therefore the main thing that I should like to impress for your consideration is this psychological approach to this problem, the psychological approach on the part of governments, on the part of the administrative machinery and on the part of the public.

How are we to bring that about? When Lord Boyd Orr came here, he said that when he was going about Delhi, he had no impression that there was any food problem, not because he got enough to eat—anyhow he could have had enough to eat—but because his idea of the food problem was that every available inch of land should be used to grow food. Let us grow food everywhere, practically not an inch of land to sit upon where you can grow food. That is his idea. That is what they did in England. All the parks were converted into fields. Of course the private houses did that, and the smallest houses with a small kitchen garden of five square yards were growing tomatoes. Everybody felt that it was his duty to grow something, and that produced a psychological atmosphere. They created a land army of people who went about the villages. That is probably because all the able-bodied men were drafted into the army. That of course does not apply here.

So, how can you create that atmosphere and create the machinery for doing it? We have got plenty of plans. I am not going to say a word about the plans, because they can be discussed with you separately. When Lord Boyd Orr went through all our plans, generally speaking, he said, “you have several plans. I have little to suggest, but how are you implementing those plans? What result does it show? What is the machinery? Is it a quick machinery, a war-time machinery?” He himself was responsible for the working of the war-time machinery in England. He knew something about it.

So he laid the greatest stress on creating a machinery which could act quickly without going through the normal routine of government work, both at the Centre and in the provinces. Then he laid stress on complete cooperation between the

Centre, the States and the provinces. Thirdly, he stressed on links from the policy making at the top, whether it is the Centre or the provinces, and the farmer. He said that unless we have all these things, we will not be able to move on.

Now, we have appointed a Commissioner for Food Production at the Centre. We have got Mr Patil from the Central Provinces to take charge of this exceedingly important and responsible job. We have got a Food Commissioner who is given large powers, and the idea is that each province should have such food commissioners who should be directly in touch with the Centre and with large powers to deal with the problem in their own provinces, and with advisory boards if necessary. In the provinces you cannot have new officers all over the place. The man in charge must be the district magistrate. He may be supported with advisory committees, etc., but it is the district magistrate who should be made personally responsible for this. It is said that the district magistrate has got so many other things to do that he would not be able to manage all the time. Nevertheless, the district magistrate should be personally responsible for this, but it would be better if he has subordinates who might relieve him of some of his routine duties and leave him to the more important work of law and order, food, etc. But you must make the district magistrate responsible. You can never get things done unless you make somebody responsible. He should be made to feel that no excuse can be accepted for his failure. So you must make people feel their responsibility. A sense of irresponsibility has come in because of this transitional democratic phase, that has made our administration less efficient than it ought to be. So the district magistrate must be made completely responsible and if he does not show results, he will have to answer for that. Of course he should have help given to him. We must also know exactly what is happening so that we may measure responsibility for success and of failure. We have no precise and accurate method of measuring these things. It is essential that we should have it. We cannot work in the dark and talk vaguely, not knowing which method has succeeded and which has failed.

You read in the newspapers the other day, a fortnight ago, I think, that a million or two million acres of cultivable land were lying fallow during the last year. That kind of thing upsets the psychology of your whole food problem. What is the use of your saying that you have brought ten thousand acres here or five thousand acres there under cultivation, if two million acres are allowed to fall out of cultivation at the same time. Of course, this was due to famine and other causes. Nevertheless, the problem has to be considered from this aspect. How are we to meet this menace? Unfortunately at the present moment we have to rely upon the monsoon and the rains and to a large extent we have to continue to rely on them, but not wholly, in the future. With better irrigation schemes that we are going to have, our dependence on the monsoon will come down. It is a fantastic thing. On the one hand we have vast quantities of water here at one season of the year and for another season we are starving for water. That is not reasonable. We must be able to use the surplus water available during the other season when we want to use it and

no doubt we will use it, but you cannot use it immediately and so we must have proper and accurate statistics available.

It is no good anybody telling you that you cannot have statistics about uncertain factors. It is about uncertain factors only that statistics are necessary. About certain factors they are not so necessary because we all can easily find them out. The utility of the statistics is about what are called uncertain factors. Now an uncertain factor is completely uncertain in the individual or small group but for the larger group it becomes fairly certain. You can never say that a particular married couple is going to have so many children or not or whether it will have children in the spring or winter season but you can definitely say that in the spring season there may be more child-births or greater child-births and so on. Uncertainty is no ground for saying that you cannot have statistics. The uncertain becomes more certain in the field of statistics. Even the failure of rains or the coming of rains also can be brought into the purview of statistics within a certain degree and therefore if you have these figures you can calculate more or less within a certain field of error what the position is, how it is improving, what is not improving, what the next season will be—all that you will be able to calculate with a fair measure of accuracy. You may not be able to give any accurate figures for a small area but taking the whole of India you ought to be able to say with a fair measure of accuracy.

Therefore we must build up an accurate statistical organization which ought to tell us where we are, and tell us what progress we make in regard to every item, whether it is wells, irrigation, intensive cultivation or whether it is subsidiary things separately, so that we can easily measure the results and stop those activities which are not yielding good results and increase those which are yielding better results. The normal conception of statistics is some kind of a census, of going and asking the *patwari* or somebody as to how many people there are or about births and deaths. The science of statistics is a highly developed science, one of the most developed sciences today, because it deals with uncertain factors.

It is said now that you can give a more accurate census by the sampling method. You get more accuracy by going to a few individuals than by going to every single individual. Why? Because when you have to go to every single individual you have inevitably to use people who do not know their job, such as the *patwaris* and others who give wrong figures and we start with a small error at the bottom. Therefore the census figures are seldom correct. They are much more so with regard to food figures and the food figures you get are probably far out. I speak subject to correction, but since you rely on such people they are likely to be completely irrelevant almost, while the sampling method is undertaken by a trained person. What figures he gives you, although they are for limited and selected areas, are accurate figures and if the selected area is big enough you can generalize from those accurate figures and get fairly firm accurate figures. The sampling method is a thing which is used by other countries.

In the science of statistics our country is second to no other country. We have

individual technicians of the highest quality. In fact there have been some developments in the sampling method, made in India, which have been adopted in other parts of the world and the Calcutta Institute of Statistics is a top-ranking institute in the world. It is first-rate. I wish we had taken over the services of Dr Mahalanobis and appointed him as the statistical adviser to the Government of India. Unfortunately his services are in demand all over the world and in a number of countries all the time. So we ought to build a statistical organization here and the provinces should also build them. For the moment I am not talking about food. It applies to other things like industries.

In England you could ask the Minister there: What was the production of this particular article yesterday? He will give you the figure. "Yesterday's production of this article was this much." Those accurate figures are given from day to day of production so that they can change their policy and do anything they like on the basis of the exact details. Take the case of food in America. They get the most accurate information about production, prospective production, everything from week to week, fortnight to fortnight; they know exactly where they are. We know nothing about it; we are just vague here and therefore we cannot reach that standard. Certainly we must concentrate on exact figures and on exact laid-out standards.

For instance, there is ten per cent or a little less food deficit in the country. With all respect to those who have fixed this, it is really a guess-work. Nobody knows exactly what it is. Some people say, probably there is no deficit at all in the country. That I think is wrong. These figures are just guess-work. Then again, some people say: you calculate your deficits on the basis of all human beings—adults, children, etc.—as consumers of the same quantity. Our present data, even of the present position, is totally incomplete and we move vaguely. We must have as complete a data as possible.

Secondly, we must fix targets. It is absolutely essential to have targets; six monthly targets and annual targets not only because we have fixed the end of 1951 as the period after which we must not import food, but quite apart from that, in order to know what is happening, we are imposing definite targets so that at the end of that period, quarterly or six monthly, in every province and in every area we know what has been achieved and what has not been achieved, what is the failure due to and where the bottleneck is, otherwise you do not know. The building of these statistics are therefore necessary in your province, and so far as we are concerned at the Centre. We shall give you every help and you will have to build your own statistical organization that you require, so that we must know the position as it is.

We have decided that by 1951 we will not import food, at any rate the essential foods, and therefore, whatever deficit there is has to be covered in these two and a half years. If the food deficit is 10 per cent, why think of it. It is too small a deficit to be greatly worried about. If we have efficient control over it, if only we can increase the yield slightly higher, we should be able to cover it. As a matter

of fact, Lord Boyd Orr said, if the people fast for one day a week, you cover the deficit. It is difficult to make 350 millions fast one day a week; nevertheless if it comes to the worst we will do so. We just cannot depend upon outside sources for this kind of thing. Apart from the financial burden we must think in terms of war crisis and we shall have to rely on our own resources. Therefore, we must realize that this programme of ending the import of food by 1951 is a final and absolute programme and it is not going to be changed. Some officers are looking up their noses and saying, we do not think we will be able to do so. I am going to do it. Let it be quite clear that the Government of India is dead earnest about it. We are going to do it or we will fast and call upon the people to fast. I want you to impress upon your officers that we are going to do it and those who do not do it, they will have to suffer for it; they will get no consideration from others.

Obviously in this food problem it is wrong and absurd to say that each province should be self-sufficient and the prosperous provinces, from the food point of view, should obviously help the other provinces. Nevertheless each province must do its utmost to cover its deficiency. In fact, to carry it further, each individual, if he has a patch of land should try to cover his own deficiency of growing food on that patch. So the importance of this point, the urgency and the finality of this matter, has to be realized. It is a final thing. It is not just a casual thing to be said that we are going to do it. And remember that the finality we have fixed for 1951 may come earlier because of world developments. Then we may have no choice at all.

Secondly, as I said, we must plan definitely the statistical business and proceed in a planned way.

Thirdly, as I said, there is the psychological approach to it which is thus far almost completely absent, not only in regard to wastage, but also in regard to people not trying to grow. Obviously it is the farmers who will grow. Our little garden patches will not grow much and the garden patch is not important from the psychological point of view. Although the quantity may be very little, people may see the urgency of it and when they see the Government House here, private houses, ministerial houses and gardens all producing grains and vegetables, etc., the problem will continue to be brought before their minds. How to approach the psychological aspect of it is for you to consider.

Obviously the psychological aspect can be best taken in hand by non-official agencies, added by official agencies and men and women's committees. Chiefly women can go further in this matter than men. Yesterday there was a meeting of a number of women and they formed a committee for Delhi.² The All India Women's Conference is going to take this as a priority matter. Obviously the main

2. The Women's Food Committee was formed in New Delhi, with Indira Gandhi as its chairperson, to publicize the nutritive value, attractiveness and variety of subsidiary foods as part of the Grow-More-Food Campaign.

organization that should take this up is the Congress and the Congress has to take it up. If I may say so for the moment, almost exclusive of other things, the Congress should devote itself completely to it, which will be good for the Congress and good for the country and for everybody. This Committee in Delhi has been formed and it proposed to divide New Delhi into small areas, with one person as in charge, so that each house is visited and the person in charge of that area is able to go to everybody in that locality and visit each house in Delhi and tell him what to do, what not to do, grow more, do this or do not do that.

Unless you absolutely cannot do without it, reduce your consumption of rice, reduce your consumption of wheat-bread in favour of some other bread, eat more vegetables, etc. and stress the importance of subsidiary foods. I merely give you an instance and I think the problem can be met successfully in Delhi as anywhere. Every city, big or small, should have some such thing. I attach importance to Delhi because if it is successfully experimented in Delhi, the other places will be psychologically affected by it and they will see that it is happening there also.

I want to refer to subsidiary foods and I should like you to appreciate that we attach a great deal of importance to this. It is not a suggestion which is merely thrown out, but we attach a tremendous importance to this because of its short-term character. This is a food which you can grow quickly. It is produced in far greater quantities than other things. If you produce them in sufficient quantities, we could introduce them into our daily food, and mix them—say up to 15 per cent. That makes an excellent and healthier mixture.

Apart from that, we may do something which England did during War time. Even now if you go to England, it is not easy to have what perhaps you may consider a full meal. You may of course pay fantastic price in a hotel and get something more; normally you just can't get it. I was staying with the Mountbattens there and I went for half a day to Dublin. They asked me to get for them some meat, butter, etc. because they could not get enough in England. Imagine, a person of that class cannot get enough. Rich or poor, they simply cannot get it. That is their system. Throughout the War they have had this pinch. Nevertheless, the English people are healthier than they have ever been in the past. Because, under the stress of circumstances, they have been forced to change their old food habits which were not good. Our food habits are not good; they are not balanced diets at all. They can be improved tremendously by certain changes. In fact, even the cost of the food may be less and the quality better. So, with these subsidiary foods, and with the change of food habits, we can make a healthier nation. It is no good saying that we cannot change our food habits. It is not a question of compulsion; there ought to be enough propaganda. They have done tremendous propaganda in England in regard to food; they have issued recipes about good diet, how it could be cooked and other things. You may also do this in the provincial centres. I hope you will be able to get the material from here. We propose to issue recipes on, normally, vegetarian diet, specially on subsidiary foods, etc.

This is the general approach of the problem that I have ventured to put before you. Always when we take up any problem and approach it with vigour, not only do we go through to the solution of that problem, but what is even more important, we produce a psychology in the country of work and success following work which is a good psychology. Today, we come across bad psychology all over the country, of each person criticizing the other person and himself not doing anything. If this programme is taken in earnest immediately, you can solve the problem even in this atmosphere in the country. I am not going into the matter as to what you should do, about tractors, and this and that. You may discuss amongst yourselves and make suggestions to the Food Minister. For the moment, it is this psychological approach that I wish to stress. Of course, it is eminently desirable that in this work, we should proceed on non-party lines and take the help of every person who is prepared to help. It is good from the larger point of view also.

I should like to know your reactions.

18. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
July 23, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

I have just seen copy of a letter dated 12th July addressed by your Ministry of Agriculture to the Chief Secretary, Rajasthan Government, Jaipur, regarding the use of water found at Samdari, near Jodhpur.

I am glad you are holding the conference soon to consider what further steps should be taken.² As I said at the meeting of Premiers this morning, I think it essential that Government, that is the Government of Rajasthan, should immediately acquire all the land where there is possibility of water being discovered. This may involve a very large area indeed. This land is at present of little value. It does not much matter how much of it can be used or not later. In any event acquisition should be made immediately and some preliminary steps might be taken now.

The present position is that it is estimated that 10,000 acres can be irrigated immediately. It is suggested in your Ministry's letter that citrus fruit or long staple cotton should be grown in this area or, to begin with, in a 300-acre farm. I think

1. File No.17(148)/49-PMS.

2. The conference was held at Jodhpur on 26 July to consider the possibility of food production along the Luni river between Samdari and Tilwana, a stretch of 65 km. where the supply of water was sufficient to irrigate about 10,000 acres of land.

that this land should be utilized for growing wheat and wheat alone on a big scale. There is no point in having citrus fruit or cotton there. Not only is wheat required much more urgently, but also the growing of wheat has a greater psychological significance in India today than anything else. I think that a large area should be reserved for a giant wheat farm. For the present this may be 10,000 acres only, but I should like it to be really much more. This land should be owned by the Rajasthan Government, but it should be handed over for development and exploitation to a joint concern—the Central Government and the Rajasthan Government cooperating together in this concern. Ultimately a corporation can be formed for this purpose jointly owned.

If subsequently further land is brought under cultivation, this might be the special concern of the Rajasthan Government, who should own and develop it. I am particularly anxious that private owners should not interfere with this development scheme. We have no giant wheat farms in India and I think this is an excellent opportunity for developing them and exploiting them with the use of tractor, etc., on the scale this is done in Canada, U.S.A., Russia, etc.

For the present a beginning can be made with the 300 acres but this should be increased rapidly as water is available to 10,000 acres or more. There is no reason why we should not have a *rabi* crop of wheat out of this land.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Shri Hiralal Shastri.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

19. To Hiralal Shastri¹

New Delhi
July 23, 1949

My dear Hiralalji,

I enclose a copy² of a letter I am sending to Shri Jairamdas Doulatram. As you know, I am particularly interested in this matter and I think it has the possibility of doing great good to both Rajasthan and India. Therefore I want quick and effective action to be taken. The first action is to acquire a very large area of land wherever water may be possible. The second is to set aside part of this area for immediate development. The third is that the development in this area should be

1. File No.17(48)/49-PMS.
2. See the preceding item.

a joint concern of the Central Government and the Rajasthan Union and necessary steps can be taken to formalise this. The fourth is that additional land should be developed directly by the Rajasthan Government in big model farms. The fifth is that wheat and wheat only should be grown all over this place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
July 28, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

Thank you for sending me the minutes of conference held in Jodhpur on the 26th July. I am glad a decision has been arrived at to set up a State farm. As I suggested previously, I think this State farm should be controlled by a corporation jointly owned by the Government of India and the Rajasthan Government. Before a corporation is actually formed, some kind of a joint committee should be given control.

It is a little difficult for me to consider the finances involved in this undertaking. But *prima facie* it seems to me that calculations are very much on the higher side. The cost of acquisition as mentioned seems to me high considering that the land has laid waste. Why should there be a question of providing alternate land when this land was not being cultivated?

Considering that we are getting this land at a very low price and the cost of supplying water to it should be very cheap as water is easily available, the profit shown is very low. I think this should be gone into a little more carefully.

I suggested to the Rajasthan Government that they should immediately acquire all the waste and sandy lands where there is even a possibility of finding water. This acquisition now would involve no difficulty and very little expense. It may mean acquiring a very considerable part of the desert area. It will be more difficult and more expensive to go in for this acquisition later when water is discovered. Even before actual steps for acquisition are taken, the Rajasthan Government should issue some kind of a notice as I believe is done in the preliminary stages.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.17(148)/49-PMS.

21. 'Grow More Food'¹

Individual efforts are urgently needed to make the country self-sufficient in food. It is regrettable that the Grow-More-Food Campaign has lost its incentive. No one can afford to ignore the basic problem of food and as such it has to be given the first priority and all energies have to be harnessed to this end. The garden lands can be used to grow vegetables, grains and subsidiary foods. Those who have no lands can grow something in boxes. Details of all these methods will be made public in a few days.

Young men, particularly the Congress workers, should go to the villages and work for increased production of food. I appeal to the cultivators to give their whole-hearted cooperation to the Government's procurement scheme.

The efforts of the U.P. farmer,² who has succeeded in growing a very large quantity of wheat in an acre this year is commendable. I appreciate the U.P. Government's action in offering this enterprising farmer a prize of Rs 5,000. If farmers all over the country emulated this splendid example of the U.P. farmer, then the problem of food scarcity will disappear within a very short time.

For the last few years there had been much talk and propaganda about 'Grow More Food'. The reason for not being able to solve the food problem is that we do not produce enough food for the requirements and, therefore, we have to import foodgrains, for which we are paying heavily. If we continue to send out crores of rupees we will not be able to fulfil the development programme.

You will remember that years ago Mahatma Gandhi told us how to deal with the cloth situation. He said that everyone should spin to prevent money going outside and asked us to produce cloth for our own requirements. If cloth is a necessity, much more is food. If we can manage without depending on other countries for cloth, why should we do so for food? If there is a war, we will not be able to get imports. We must make arrangements to overcome the food shortage by increasing production.

The country's food shortage is estimated to be only ten per cent, which is not very large. It is, therefore, not a very difficult problem to solve. The country has, of course, big irrigation projects which, when completed, will help in solving the food problem but it will take a long time. There are also small schemes of irrigation which are in operation. The main task lies in bringing more lands under cultivation. Everyone in the country, be he a cultivator or the city dweller, has a duty to increase food production.

1. Broadcast to the Nation in Hindustani from All India Radio, 6 August 1949. From the *National Herald*, 7 August 1949.
2. Ganga Saran, a farmer from Meerut.

Lord Boyd Orr, who is a food expert and whose services had been secured by us, made three suggestions. He asked us to treat this subject on a war basis, that the provinces and Centre should coordinate their efforts and that there must be a link between the government and the cultivators in their plans.

We accepted his recommendations and the first step taken has been the appointment of the Commissioner of Food, Mr R.K. Patil at the Centre. Since his arrival a new spirit has been infused into the campaign. Similar food commissioners will be appointed in provinces also.

22. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
August 10, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

Pai has shown me a letter sent by R.L. Gupta² to him dated 9th August.³ This is about rice purchases.

The subject, of course, is rather complicated and you are in the best position to judge. Nevertheless, I do not understand why our policy in regard to rice should not be stricter. It is true that too stringent measures are likely to defeat their own object. There may be a black market, etc. But in certain areas in India I should simply put an end to rice being sent at all. I do not see why we should be so soft about these matters. Australia exports rice. We cannot buy rice in Australia for private consumption. If rice is simply not available in a particular area, say East Punjab, there is not much chance of a black market flourishing. In certain other areas consumption of rice could well be reduced. Wheat or some other stuff should be given instead. What we have to calculate really is that special rice consuming provinces get their minimum requirements.

If we can control the price of wheat, it does not matter very much what the price of rice is. Indeed we can almost compel the price of rice to come down. I would like to plan for no rice imports next year.

However, it is for you to consider all these matters and decide.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(2)/47-PMS
2. Raghuvansh Lal Gupta, Joint Financial Adviser (Food) to Government of India, 1943-47.
3. Gupta in his letter of 9 August 1949 argued that rice might be costlier in the international market in 1950 when the present system of international allocation of rice would be discontinued, and suggested that full quota of rice for 1949 should be purchased. As all viable measures had already been adopted to reduce rice consumption to the minimum, any further stringent control would induce people to go to the black market.

INDUSTRY

I. Promotion of Industry

1. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
July 2, 1949

My dear Kher,

Mulraj Kersondas² tells me that he had made a proposal³ to your Government some time ago about the manufacture of ferro-manganese for export. Manganese is now exported. If ferro-manganese is made here, it would be a profitable undertaking and would bring in foreign exchange. I do not know about the details of this scheme, but I am interested in it and shall be grateful if you could ask your Industries Minister or whoever is concerned to let me know how matters stand and why there has been considerable delay in attending to this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(231)/50-PMS.
2. A leading industrialist from Bombay.
3. In March 1949 Kersondas sought permission from the Bombay Government for setting up a refinery to manufacture ferro-manganese.

2. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
July 20, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

Your letter of the 19th July about discussing the textile position with the Premiers.² I entirely agree with you. I am very much worried over this position³ and feel that some drastic action should be taken. We seem to drift from one difficulty into another.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 15(51)/49-PMS.
2. A Premiers' Conference scheduled to be held in New Delhi on 23 and 24 July 1949.
3. The textile millowners were agitating against control on textiles as provincial governments had failed to lift the accumulated stocks which resulted in the closure of some mills. The controls were reimposed in July 1948 after the failure of decontrol on textiles in April 1948.

3. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
July 21, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter² of the 20th July about the large loans which are being advanced by the Government of India directly to industrial concerns. I read your letter at the Cabinet meeting and there was some discussion on it. We were informed that the Economic Committee had carefully considered all aspects of this question.

So far as the loan of Rs 5 crores to the Indian Iron and Steel Company Ltd. is concerned, this was necessitated by the urgent need for higher steel production. In effect the Company mortgages its assets to the Government of India and these assets amount to Rs 20 to 25 crores.

As regards the loan of two crores to the Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company Ltd., it is true that their assets are only Rs 87 lakhs. These will be mortgaged to us in the same way. There was no other way of getting locomotives built here soon and in view of the high standing of the Company, it was thought that there was no risk involved. The need for the manufacture of locomotives here is so great that our Railway Board and the Economic Committee felt that this loan should be given on such terms as to protect the Government of India's interest and also to produce the locomotives.

A question arose as to whether we should grant these two loans or take shares in the companies concerned of the value of the money given. It was felt that taking shares would probably involve us too much in the management, etc., of the companies and the responsibility of the present management would become much less.

Cabinet felt that there was justification for what you have said about a normal procedure being followed and for the Legislature to be informed. At the present moment there is no other procedure that we can follow, as the Industrial Finance Corporation³ can only grant loans upto ten lakhs and its total capital is, I believe, fifty lakhs. However, we have asked our Finance and Law Ministries to look into this matter so that your criticism might be met.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 89-GG/49, President's Secretariat.
2. In his letter Rajagopalachari suggested that the Industrial Finance Corporation should be used for the purpose of financing industrial concerns as direct financing led to "legal doubts," as there was "no law passed under which specifically these loans are made," and as there was "no budget position" the Government had "no legislative sanction for exercise of such powers." He also feared that such loans were "liable to attack as involving discriminatory treatment."
3. The Industrial Finance Corporation was established in 1948 with the purpose of making medium and long-term credits more readily available to industrial concerns.

4. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
July 30, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

I should like to draw your attention to the leading article of *The Hindu* in its issue of July 29th.² Some of the points made by *The Hindu* can be adequately answered. Nevertheless, a feeling remains of drift and trying to catch up, too often without great success.

In view of the persistent effort being made by some capitalists and industrialists to get the control on cloth removed, I suggest that some kind of a statement³ should be made by you making it clear that this control will not be removed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 26(37)/48-PMS.
2. The editorial stated that speeches made at the Central Advisory Committee on Industries on 28 July 1949 showed that Government's economic policy was that of "drift", that it had failed to check inflation, increase industrial production, and maintain industrial truce, and its policy of controls was responsible for accumulation of stocks in the textile mills. It called for "determined measures to the economy" to save it "from sliding into a slump" and said that "neither devaluation nor high tariffs" could be of any help. It stressed the need for checking inflation, improving labour productivity by employment of more "mechanical aids" and "greater use of power in industry," and for streamlining taxation of industry.
3. The statement issued on 30 July 1949 clarified that the Government had no intention of withdrawing controls on cloth and yarn, announced that provincial and State Governments had been directed to streamline distribution machinery and lift cloth from the mills, and permitted mills to sell accumulated cloth to licenced buyers of their choice if stocks were not lifted within one month. It also announced the Government's decision to stop import of cloth and yarn and abolish the export duty on cloth.

5. To K.C. Neogy¹

New Delhi
July 31, 1949

My dear Neogy,

Thank you for your long letter of the 29th July explaining the Government's import policy.

May I say that I entirely agree that it is not possible to formulate a long-term policy? Indeed my complaint is that we carry on a policy too long even when it is doing us injury. This is due to lack of statistical information. In the existing situation in the world, we should be wide awake and know from week to week and fortnight to fortnight what exactly is happening in regard to our imports and exports. This should enable us to review our policy not six-monthly as you suggest, but at least every month and, perhaps, sooner.

I feel that, whatever the original justification for the O.G.L., we continued it too long to our detriment.² I do not see why we should have continued it simply because the U.K. representative asked us to hold our hand. We slipped there badly.

Apart from the quantities involved, there is a political and psychological aspect of this question also and that is important. The fact that Delhi or Bombay shops are full today of luxury articles from abroad has a very bad effect on public morale. Nobody believes in austerity or practises it if he sees these totally unnecessary articles being imported from sterling and dollar areas. Whatever the circumstances might be, I see no reason why such articles should be allowed to be imported.

Then again, take the question of foreign cloth. Many of us have spent our lives in boycotting foreign cloth. We have picketed shops, we have gone to prison for it, and now we learn, just casually, that foreign cloth is being imported, and imported at a time when there are large stocks of cloth in the mills here. No doubt there may be some justification for this in regard to certain counts and reduced prices and all that. But it is a bad show altogether and has, I am quite certain, a bad effect on public morale. I am afraid this aspect is not considered by the Economic Committee when it looks into these questions. Economic questions cannot be separated from psychological conditions and public reactions. For my part, I did not even know that cotton textiles were being imported till I heard about it casually.

I think all these matters are of sufficient importance for the whole Cabinet to consider them. No one can say that the results of our policy in regard to cloth

1. File No. 44/48-PMS.

2. In 1946, the system of Open General Licence (O.G.L.), started with a view to import machinery for industrial units, was extended to a large number of commodities imported from sterling as well as dollar areas. Following the issue of O.G.L., large varieties of goods flowed into India. The depleted sterling balances in 1949 led the Government to suspend the O.G.L. in June 1949 in order to eliminate the growing deficit in balance of payments arising from huge imports and falling exports.

INDUSTRY

have been a success. I am not going into the question as to who is at fault in this matter. I know that the millowners do not play the game. But we cannot, as a Government, just bemoan our lot and say that others are in error.

I agree with you that normally speaking we should not be prevented from importing commodities which are manufactured in the country and thus give indirect protection. But in regard to cottage industries, we should be more careful that we import nothing which comes in their way and hurts them, unless there are very special reasons.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3

INDUSTRY

II. Industrial Relations

1. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
July 10, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have received a letter² from Jayaprakash Narayan a copy of which I enclose. I am also enclosing copies of letters I have written to Jayaprakash Narayan,³ and Sri Babu,⁴ and a copy of my Private Secretary's letter to Shanti Prasad Jain.⁵

You will notice that Jayaprakash is thinking of resorting to a hunger-strike himself. If this happens, this will bring no credit to the Bihar Government or the Dalmias.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Jayaprakash wrote on 30 June 1949 that one of his comrades Basawan Singh had gone on a hunger-strike when the management at Dalmianagar had refused to take back 2,500 strikers, after they had called off their strike at his (Jayaprakash's) advice. On the thirtieth day of Basawan's fast Jayaprakash requested Basawan to break his fast with the assurance that Rajendra Prasad would arbitrate on behalf of the 2,500 strikers. To this the Labour Minister, Anugraha Narayan Sinha, had agreed. Later, neither the employer, Shanti Prasad Jain, nor the new I.N.T.U.C. union agreed to Rajendra Prasad's arbitration. Jayaprakash felt let down at this and threatened another hunger-strike if the agreement made with him previously was not honoured. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 10, p. 228.
3. In his letter Nehru assured Jayaprakash that he would enquire into the matter with the parties concerned.
4. See the next item.
5. (1912-1977); industrialist; Chairman, Rohtas Industries; President, F.I.C.C.I., 1952; Chairman, Punjab National Bank, 1954-58; founder-trustee of Bharatiya Jnanpith.

2. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
July 10, 1949

My dear Sri Babu,

I am writing to you about Basawan Singh's fast and what followed its termination. I referred to this hunger-strike in my Muzaffarpur speech.² Subsequently I learnt that Shanti Prasad Jain had agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of

1. J.N. Collection.
2. On 2 April 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 10, pp. 221-224 and 228.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Dr Rajendra Prasad and that he had conveyed this agreement to you personally and to Krishna Ballabh Sahay.³ Thereupon Basawan Singh gave up his fast.

I understand that now Shanti Prasad is not agreeable to Dr Rajendra Prasad's arbitration on this matter. Is this correct? It does seem to me very improper for anyone to give his word and then break it. As you were partly concerned in this business and as the word was apparently given to you, you are also involved in it. My secretary has written to Shanti Prasad Jain enquiring if these facts are correct. I shall be glad to know what you propose to do about it if Shanti Prasad Jain deliberately breaks his pledged word given to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. (1898-1974); Congress leader from Bihar who was imprisoned several times during freedom movement; Parliamentary Secretary, Bihar, 1937; Minister, Land Revenue, 1946-57, and Cooperation and Planning, 1962-63; Chief Minister, Bihar, 1963-67.

NATIONAL ECONOMY AND FINANCE

I. General

1. Matters Relating to Economy and Finance¹

The Prime Minister, initiating the discussion, said that on the previous day, the Conference had discussed the food situation in the country. The principal item for consideration in the present Conference was the textile position. The Minister for Industry and Supply would be making a full statement on the subject. His personal feeling in the matter was that the position was unsatisfactory and somehow the Government had not been able to come to grips with the problem. Before the discussion on the position of cotton textiles started, the Prime Minister desired to mention a few other matters which he should like the provinces to consider.

(1) Imposition of sales tax on aviation petrol:

The Government of India, with a view to reducing the cost of air travelling and to give relief to civil aviation, had gone out of their way to reduce the excise duty on aviation petrol. The effect of the reduction has, however, been completely nullified by some provinces through the levy of sales tax on aviation petrol. He would like the provinces to consider exempting aviation petrol from sales tax.²...

(2) Accommodation for offices and staff of Postal Department:

The Prime Minister informed the Premiers that the problem of accommodation both for offices and staff of the Postal Department had become acute throughout the country, resulting in considerable deterioration in the efficiency of the Postal Department. He understood the difficulties of the provincial governments in regard to accommodation which is now a serious all-India problem, but would greatly appreciate the provincial governments helping the Ministry of Communications in requisitioning suitable accommodation for post offices and for the residence of postal employees to such an extent as might be possible.

The Premiers expressed their readiness to assist in the matter.

(3) Prohibition and horse racing:

The Prime Minister, whilst referring to the present economic situation, said that under such conditions Governments in the country should be chary of reducing their revenues any further. The Congress governments in the country were committed to certain social reforms and it was only right that they should endeavour to honour the pledges made to the public in this regard. However, the speed in regard to social reforms can be regulated in the light of the prevailing economic

1. Minutes of the Provincial Premiers Conference, New Delhi, 24 July 1949. File No. 127/CF/49, Cabinet Secretariat Papers. Extracts.
2. The Premier of Madras said that his Government had already issued orders to reduce the sales tax on aviation petrol; and the Premiers of Bombay and Central Provinces expressed their willingness to consider the matter sympathetically.

situation. In the matter of prohibition, it might be desirable first to start in the rural areas and by restricting the use of spirits rather than wines and beer.

As for racing, besides the loss of revenue, horse racing is also of great importance from the point of view of the horse breeding industry. Racing has given a great fillip to the horse breeding industry and it is recognized that without racing the industry will languish. Horse breeding is of considerable importance for the Army for whose needs a number of horses and mules, etc. are required. Importing of these animals from foreign countries is extremely expensive.

Besides the loss of revenues, which the country can ill afford at the present juncture, the policy of the Government in regard to prohibition, horse racing, etc., has been attacked as an encroachment on the personal liberty of the people. This had increased discontent against the Government and it is desirable to keep this aspect of the matter in mind whilst proceeding with social and moral reforms by legislation.

(4) Law and order:

The Prime Minister said that whilst the law and order position in its broader aspects would be discussed by the Premiers with the Deputy Prime Minister, he would like to draw attention to a narrower aspect of the problem. This was regarding the use of emergency legislation to maintain law and order in the country. Such legislation is efficacious and desirable to deal with emergencies and has, therefore, in the nature of the emergency, to be of short duration. When however such legislation becomes a permanent feature of Government and when, besides dealing with violence, it is utilized to interfere with the right of the people to express their personal views, it becomes a serious encroachment on the personal liberty of the people and as such lays itself open to legitimate objection. He would, therefore, advise that in dealing with problems of law and order it would be desirable to separate rebels and those who indulge in acts of violence from those who legitimately express their political opinions. Mixing of the two has the effect on those indulging in violence and acts of rebellion being covered by the cases of individuals prosecuted for expression of political opinion. This has adverse repercussions on the people and only increase opposition to Government.

The Premiers agreed with the views expressed by the Prime Minister and assured him that they would endeavour to meet his wishes in regard to personal liberty of the people, as far as possible.

(5) Economic situation:

The Prime Minister stated that besides our own economic troubles, there was a noticeable recession in the economic position all over the world in the countries with whom India's economy was interlinked. This was particularly noticeable in the case of the U.S.A. and the U.K. What happens in U.K. and U.S.A. has its

reactions on India and therefore the economic situation has to be viewed not in the narrow sphere of our internal problems but in the light of the larger aspect. The Premiers would undoubtedly be discussing the problem with the Ministers of Finance and Commerce and other allied Ministries. The Government of India had invited an eminent American, Mr Trone,³ to start with for a period of three months, to give advice on our economic and developmental problems. Mr Trone, from all accounts, has had a brilliant career and has been intimately associated with development problems in Russia as well as China. Some material has been prepared by the Ministries in the Government of India for the use of Mr Trone. That material would be circulated to the provincial Premiers and the Government of India would greatly appreciate the provinces suggesting any other matters that they might like to be put to Mr Trone.

The Prime Minister also referred to the recent visit of Dr Gyan Chand, Economic Adviser to the Cabinet, to the provinces. He had visited all provinces except the East Punjab and discussed their development schemes and problems with their officers. He would also be visiting East Punjab shortly and after he has done so, his report would be sent to the provinces.

(6) Cotton textiles:

The Prime Minister called upon Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee, the Minister for Industry and Supply, to explain the present position in regard to control on cotton textiles.⁴...

The Prime Minister could not understand why, under the present conditions, no embargo was being placed on the import of foreign cloth.⁵...

3. S.A. Trone.

4. Mookerjee stated that the position was not so serious as had been asserted by interested propaganda on behalf of the millowners; the actual facts regarding closure of mills showed that the percentage of closure was comparatively small; that the principal cause for the accumulation of cloth and yarn stocks was the failure of Pakistan to lift the stocks it had contracted to take, and the fall in the export market was because of increase in the price of cloth, the imposition of a heavy export duty and failure of certain provinces to lift their allotted quota. He announced measures to relieve the situation, and hoped that the glut in the cloth market was only temporary.

5. Mookerjee explained that steps were being taken to regulate the import of foreign cloth.

NATIONAL ECONOMY AND FINANCE

II. Income Tax

1. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1949

My dear Morarji,

Radha Kant Malaviya² had sent me a letter in which he says that he saw you and suggested to you to take some action against a number of firms for the evasion of income tax or other offences. According to him, you said that you suspected that the Income Tax Department was shielding these firms, but that you would be willing to take action against them if I sent you a personal letter asking you to take action on Radha Kant's information.

I am very anxious that action should be taken against any individual or firm who has been defrauding the Government and the public. In fact I have been worried lately at the fact that the big people seem to escape all the time and only some of the smaller fries are punished. Some recent cases in Bombay led me to write to Kher about it.

While this is so, I can hardly ask you to take action against particular individuals or firms unless you or your lawyers have satisfied yourselves about the matter. That is entirely for you to judge. If Radha Kant gives you any worthwhile information, this can be tested and followed up. Nothing should be taken on hearsay, as otherwise you might get into difficulties. Radha Kant, as you know, may supply useful information certainly, but he is not a very reliable or balanced person.

If the Income Tax Department is at all slack in any matter, please draw my attention to it. My own impression was that they were anxious to get results.

There is little doubt that fraud has been practised on a colossal scale during the past few years, and the fact that we cannot do anything effective, injures the credit of Government very much. I wish we could act, and act effectively.

I suggest to you, therefore, to have the data, as supplied by Radha Kant or any other source, examined carefully and to take action where this appears feasible. I can obviously take no responsibility for such information as may be supplied to you. That has to be tested carefully.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Second son of Madan Mohan Malaviya; joined the local bar at Allahabad and later shifted to business; secretary, All India Hindu Mahasabha, Sanatan Dharam Sabha and Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.

2. To the Aga Khan¹

New Delhi
July 10, 1949

My dear Aga Khan,
Thank you for your letter of June 29th.

I am afraid I know nothing about your income tax matter. All I can do is to enquire from our Finance Ministry. Of one thing I am quite sure that there can be no personal animus against you. As a matter of fact there has been so much laxity in the collection of income tax in the past that Government have had to take special steps to tighten up the machinery for collection. They have further appointed an Income Tax Investigation Tribunal.² It is a well known fact that during the last few years there has been tremendous evasion of income tax all over India and this Tribunal is trying to discover this. As a result of an income tax drive in the early part of this year large sums have been collected which had been outstanding previously. I have little doubt that the issue of a letter or notice to you was in the ordinary course of routine and had nothing personal about it.

I appreciate your difficulty in not having kept regular account books for your income. I suppose, however, that your secretaries or treasurers must keep some record of your income and could easily supply that to the Income Tax Department. There should be no difficulty in arriving at an approximately correct figure.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(58)/49-PMS.

2. In fact he meant the Income Tax Investigation Commission, which was constituted in February 1948 under the chairmanship of Srinivasa Varadachariar to investigate and report to the Central Government all matters relating to taxation on income, its assessment and collection, and scope for evasion, and to investigate any cases and report to the Government.

NATIONAL ECONOMY AND FINANCE**III. Tax on Newspapers**

1. To the Premiers of Madras and Bombay¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1949

My dear Premier,

There has been a considerable agitation over the taxation on advertisements in newspapers² and the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society has come out with a long resolution³ in condemnation of this. I have no particular views on this subject and, therefore, hesitate to say anything. From one point of view, the tax on advertisements in newspapers might be justified provided it does not become too much of a burden and is not used as a weapon to interfere with the freedom of the press.

What I am concerned with, however, is that, in any matter which meets with a fairly large-scale opposition in the press, we might proceed a little cautiously. It does not help us to turn the press against us. If you think it desirable, we might discuss this matter at the Premiers' meeting to be held next month in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The Bombay and Madras Governments had introduced Bills for the levying of tax on advertisements in newspapers. Both provinces had already levied a sales tax on newspapers.
3. The resolution adopted on 17 June 1949 called upon provincial governments to desist from imposing sales tax on newspapers or a tax on newspaper advertisements, and in particular criticized the new Bill of Government of Madras which proposed a 10 per cent tax on advertisement revenue, as being against the "public interest" and "free development of the press", argued that "production costs had gone up" and called for the stopping of "grave interference with the freedom of the press."

2. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1949

My dear Matthai,

You must have noticed in the Bombay and Madras press specially that there is a strong agitation against the proposals of these two Governments for a tax on advertisements in newspapers. This is in addition to the sales tax. So far as the sales tax is concerned, the Government of India wants to make it uniform and has

1. J.N. Collection.

certain proposals for it. Presumably we shall discuss this at the Premiers' meeting next month.

I have no particular views about the advertisement tax. *Prima facie* it might be justified, provided it does not become an engine of interference with the freedom of the press. But in view of the general attitude of the press towards this tax, it is worth considering the matter in its larger aspects. I do not wish to interfere with provincial autonomy, even though I feel often enough that provinces are going in the wrong direction. Instead of dealing with the urgent problems of the day, they are diverting much of their attention to improving the morals of the people at heavy cost to themselves and at the same time irritating considerable sections of the community.

The Bombay Government, as well as that of Madras, are thinking of stopping betting on horse races, with the result probably that racing will go down and horse breeding will suffer, apart from the loss of revenue. I think this is a wrong step to take and I have in fact written to the Bombay Government rather strongly on this subject. However, apart from writing, I do not quite know what I can do. We might consider this and allied subjects at the Premiers' meeting to be held next month. I am suggesting this to the provincial governments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1949

My dear Premier,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th June about the tax on advertisements. I should like to make it perfectly clear that I am not objecting to this tax. That is for you to consider entirely. What I said was that we might approach it in a cautious manner so as to avoid too much press opposition.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

4. To Kasturi Srinivasan¹

New Delhi

July 15, 1949

Dear Mr Srinivasan,

Thank you for your letter of the 13th July. Both Shiva Rao and Deshbandhu Gupta spoke to me on the subject of the tax on advertisements in newspapers. Subsequently I wrote to the governments concerned to find out what the facts were.

When the Premiers come here, this question will certainly be discussed.

I must confess, however, that I have not yet been able to appreciate why there should be so much opposition to this proposal from newspaper proprietors. It would be highly improper if any such tax is used for party purposes or to suppress newspapers or to favour some at the expense of others. Also, it would be wrong to put an additional burden on struggling newspapers. Allowing for all this, there yet appears to be some scope for taxation on advertisement revenue without infringing any high principle or doing harm in practice to a laudable undertaking. It is well known that advertisement revenue is considerable in the case of our bigger newspapers and some kind of a tax on this revenue should not be a burden and might serve a public purpose. Some editors of newspapers have themselves expressed this opinion to me.

I am putting to you some of my preliminary reactions. I may change my opinion when further facts are placed before me. But the question before me is how far the Central Government should intervene in a matter which is definitely a provincial one. To a slight extent I have intervened already. I do not know how I can go much further.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

5. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
August 6, 1949

My dear Matthai,

I had an interview with newspaper proprietors today about the advertisement tax.² There is something in what they say. But I confess that I cannot become very enthusiastic in their favour. I think they are making a lot of money. I understand that because the price of newsprint has fallen, this has made a tremendous difference in their favour and on this account alone, some of the newspapers are saving anything from Rs 10,000 to Rs 15,000 a month. I was wondering if it would not be a good thing to have an enquiry, not a complicated one, into the newspapers as an industry.

This reminds me that this business of interlocking companies seems to me to be a menace. The stories I have heard about the way the Dalmias carry on with their various companies have amazed me. Is it not possible to do something about this? Possibly here again some kind of an enquiry might be helpful.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. A deputation of the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society sought to impress upon Nehru that a tax on advertisements, would be an obstacle to the growth of a "free press", would seriously hit small newspapers and curtail the growth of bigger newspapers. Nehru's attention was drawn, in particular, to the feature of the Madras Bill which included 10 per cent tax on gross revenues and provisions for licence and search—powers which, they felt, in case the tax was imposed, should rest with the Centre and not with the provinces. The deputation argued that they wanted not freedom from taxation but freedom from multi-taxation.

REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION**I. Rehabilitation**

1. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1949

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of the 27th June.² I feel the weight of your argument. At the same time, I think that our fixing these quotas for specific places is slightly artificial at present. We do not know exactly how things will shape themselves.

I think that you might, in a sense, increase the quota, as you suggest, by a lakh. But while you guarantee that you will give these people rehabilitation, you can say that we take the responsibility for rehabilitation by issuing the cards and we shall try to do so in or around Delhi, but we cannot guarantee the place. That will depend on future circumstances. In Delhi really means around Delhi, I suppose, and not actually within the confines of the city. Personally, I think it would be much better to have small townships dotted about from place to place within an area of, say, 20 to 25 miles around Delhi or a little more. The point is, do not commit yourself absolutely to keeping the people in Delhi. You must leave yourself free in future to decide as circumstances permit.

What I have suggested does not need a formal submission to the Cabinet Committee, as it leaves you some choice in the matter. But it is better to put the matter up before the Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.29(47)/48-PMS.
2. Khanna wrote that Delhi had been allotted a quota of 2.5 lakhs of displaced persons whereas in reality there were about 4.5 to 5 lakhs. He proposed that this quota should be increased by another lakh, and said that this would not involve any additional expenditure because the money to be spent on them by other provinces and States would now be spent on their resettlement in Delhi.

2. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
July 31, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of the 30th July 1949.

1. J.N. Collection.

Certainly steps should be taken to deal with the cases of widows, dependent children and old and infirm people. I should like to see the scheme which you evolve.²

I do not accept the principle that "Unto those that have more should be given". Therefore the help given to people deserving that help need not bear any relation to the quantum of property they possessed in Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The scheme evolved by Mohanlal Saksena stressed that the maintenance and care of unattached women, children and old and infirm people should continue to be the responsibility of the State; efforts be made to hand over existing homes and centres to philanthropic organizations like Kasturba Trust, Ramakrishna Mission and to finance them; and instead of starting new homes advantage be taken of existing institutions.

3. The Sealing of Shops¹

Regarding the sealing of Muslim shops in Delhi, I am glad that it has been decided that no shops should be sealed unless and until a person has been given a chance to defend himself. I confess I do not understand any procedure which leads to sealing without framing a charge and asking for a reply. Certain rules of law and commonsense must be observed, even though they create some difficulties. The difficulties are far greater if those rules are not observed.

The sealing of a shop naturally entails loss to the shopkeeper, which may be considerable. Therefore, the period of enquiry should be a brief one and final decisions taken as soon as possible. I do not quite understand how decisions are made in the case of families which may have some members in Pakistan and some in India. Obviously we cannot make a person in India suffer, because he has a relative in Pakistan, who does business there. Care, therefore, should be taken to keep this fact in view.

If a shop or the owner of a shop is suspected, it should be possible to keep a close supervision over the shop and to examine its papers, etc. even without sealing it...

1. Note to Dharma Vira, Joint Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat, 8 August 1949. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION

II. Meos

1. To Hiralal Shastri¹

New Delhi
June 22, 1949

My dear Hiralalji,²

Thank you for sending me an account of the disturbances which led to the firing on the refugees.³ Your note is an exhaustive one. Nevertheless I feel that whenever such firing takes place it should be an automatic procedure for some enquiry⁴ to be made by a high-level authority. I suggest to you therefore that some such course be followed in this instance also. This will protect your interests as well as any other interests. We should never be afraid of the truth.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Hiralal Shastri was the Chief Minister of Rajasthan at this time.
3. On 16 June 1949 two persons were killed and 10 injured when police opened fire on refugees who while being transferred from Durgapura Camp near Jaipur to Alwar for rehabilitation on agricultural land refused to alight and turned violent. The refugees were demanding free rations and induction of refugee representatives in the committee preparing scheme for rehabilitation. A day earlier, on June 15, the Rajasthan Government had proposed to close all refugee camps by 31 July 1949 and discontinue free rations.
4. On 25 June 1949, the Rajasthan Government decided to institute an official inquiry into the firing incident.

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have received a sheaf of letters from you today dated the 21st June.²

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Patel had enclosed with his letter of 21 June, a note mentioning that Meos should be resettled in Gurgaon, Alwar and Bharatpur as was originally fixed and expressed apprehension about security and recurring feuds especially between the Jats and Meos. He added that the 'Grow More Food', mechanical cultivation and refugees' resettlement schemes should not be disturbed as that would have serious repercussions on the food programme and on the law and order situation.

I shall deal with the question of Meos here. I might mention that I had a long talk with Vellodi today on this subject.

At the last meeting of the Cabinet Committee the matter was discussed at great length and every aspect was considered. We then came to a certain decision which you know. I think that was the right decision and indeed, an inevitable decision. If there is no choice left for us in regard to the major approach to the problem, the only possibility is of certain minor adjustments. This inevitability comes from any consideration of it—whether it is the law and order position or the food cultivation aspect,³ or the line of least resistance and allowing matters to settle down, or finally, from the equitable and moral aspect.

Personally I have long been of opinion that the best solution of the problem is for the Meos to go back to their original homes insofar as this is possible without major upsets. That indeed was the natural course, unless there was some special reason against it. You will remember that whenever we discussed this previously, the only reason advanced against it was one connected with law and order. Even in regard to this, there were two opinions as to which course was more conducive to the maintenance of law and order. Every other reason was in favour of the Meos going back. That was Bapu's assurance to them.⁴ The East Punjab Government wanted them to go back. Many of the people in the Matsya Union were agreeable to it. The fact that the land in the Matsya Union was not very good or very suitable for other refugees, was also an inducement that the Meos themselves should go back there to cultivate it. The fact that a certain economic set-up had existed there for many hundreds of years as between the Meos and others and it might be harmful to all concerned to upset that set-up, was a further reason.

So far as the law and order question was concerned, the argument that the Meos' return might lead to future trouble had certainly to be considered. But it seemed to me to have no great weight. The Meos have lived there for many hundreds of years and, although there has been trouble occasionally, generally speaking, peaceful conditions have prevailed and there was no reason to think that they would not prevail in future. There was in fact greater danger to the law and order position if the Meos were forcibly put elsewhere and not far away from their old homes. They will continually look longingly to their old lands and feel aggrieved and resentful. The distances were small. In fact, hardly any part of this area is more than fifteen or twenty miles away from the rest. There was thus far more possibility of trouble, if the old set-up was upset and the Meos were kept within heeling distance. It also seemed clear that cultivation and food production would suffer

3. About 75,000 acres of land in Alwar had temporarily been allotted to local persons for cultivation of the *kharif* crops without the consent of the Rehabilitation Ministry and this came in the way of their plans for refugees' rehabilitation.
4. On 19 December 1947, Mahatma Gandhi gave this assurance to the Meos in his address at Gurgaon.

because newcomers would not take easily to the land to which they are not used. The cost of rehabilitation would also be very considerable for the newcomers in these new lands.

Then there were certain wider aspects. The Pakistan press has laid a good deal of stress on the Meos problem as indicating the way we treat our Muslim citizens. In Kashmir there has been talk of it. Obviously the Muslims of Kashmir were disturbed somewhat at the way the Muslim citizens of India might be dealt with.

All these are important considerations. But at the present moment the major fact is that owing to natural course and stress of events, these people are back roundabout their old lands and homes. To push them out would require a major operation and create a tremendous uproar. It would not redound to our credit and the law and order question would certainly be affected. What has happened is, left to itself, water has found its own level. If we try to push it uphill, we may do so with a great effort, but it would be unnatural and would cause great difficulty.

The present position therefore has to remain and the decisions⁵ taken by the Cabinet Committee last month have to be given effect to. We must take care that no additional Meos claim land there.⁶ That is not a difficult matter.

What I am worried about is that owing to slowness of our governmental machine, a whole month has gone by in argument and nothing has been done. This was a vital month from the point of view of the monsoon. Still there is just time for us to go ahead at full speed.

I do not think the question of the Jats has any special importance in this connection. That can be attended to and adjustments made. Local Jats have no claim at all to evacuee lands. That will go to the refugees or to the original holders.

As for the social workers, I suppose that means Vinoba Bhave and his group. Surely we can trust Vinoba Bhave to act correctly and not to create difficulties. My own information is that there would be no difficulty there as between the social workers and government officials, if there was a clear understanding of what was to be done. Difficulties have arisen because of a lack of this understanding. I hope

5. The decisions taken on 25 May 1949 dealt with the agency which should be entrusted with the resettlement of Meos and the *taccavi* and other financial assistance to be given to them, in regard to the tractor unit for ploughing.
6. On 24 June 1949 the Committee decided that the Meos to be covered by the immediate resettlement measure should include only those covered by the census as well as those who were present in Alwar and Bharatpur at the time of census and numbered about 9,000 or 10,000; and that total number to be provided for immediately would be between 70,000 and 72,000.

that the Cabinet Committee tomorrow will lay down precisely what should be done.⁷

Yours,
Jawaharlal

7. On 24 June 1949, the Committee put Hiralal Shastri in charge of this resettlement work; urged that there should be a better understanding and closer coordination between social workers and governmental agencies so as to remove various difficulties that were bound to arise in the final resettlement and authorised Vinoba Bhave to coordinate this work.

3. Land Cultivation by Meos¹

I am surprised to read Shri Sudhir Ghosh's note. This matter was fully discussed at the Cabinet Committee meeting and a very clear and precise direction was given.² Why a note should be necessary after that passes my comprehension.

It has been clearly laid down that on no account whatever, is the movement of refugees to Alwar to be stopped. This should not only proceed according to plan but if possible should be speeded up.

No conflict arises because of the temporary allocation of some lands for *kharif* crop. No refugees, who are sent to Alwar now, can possibly start operations on the land immediately and in time for the *kharif* crop. Therefore, if the land was left to them only, there would probably be no *kharif* crop at all. The arrangement made for the cultivation of this *kharif* crop by local people is eminently reasonable and does not come in the way of the settlement of the refugees, provided sensible adjustments are made.³

1. Note to the Ministry of Rehabilitation, 25 June 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. On 24 June 1949, the Committee of the Cabinet for Rehabilitation decided that the refugees be allotted the land meant for them even though some of it had temporarily been allotted for cultivation to local persons for the *kharif* crop; that cultivation should not be interrupted as in any case refugees could not undertake it for this season and that the money received from the local allottees of this land for the *kharif* crop should be used after deducting necessary charges and expenses for helping the refugees who would be the permanent allottees of this land.
3. The Cabinet Committee had pointed out that the cultivation in Alwar was in no way intended to come in the way of the refugees being sent there, and that temporary seasonal allocation was made to avoid land remaining untilled and the food production suffering a loss. Also it was not possible for refugees arriving there to start cultivation of land immediately and if it had been left only to them, the *kharif* crop would have been lost.

These adjustments were suggested yesterday. The refugees will go into the houses etc., belonging to the land which are evidently not occupied. The land will be allotted to them as planned, with complete effect however from the time when the *kharif* crop has been harvested. They will be paying a certain percentage, which roughly may be 40 per cent or thereabouts of the revenue given by the temporary allottees. They may be allowed to help in cultivation and harvesting. That is a matter for local arrangement and adjustment.

In all such matters petty local difficulties arise which should be dealt with on the spot in a reasonable manner. In any event no difficulty can arise in sending the refugees to this land in Alwar and put them in possession of the old houses etc., with such repairs as may be necessary. They will take a little time to settle down and to get the wherewithal for cultivation. The position should be explained to them reasonably. It is by no means to their disadvantage.

I really do not understand why this question which was discussed so fully yesterday should again be raised.

If any kind of difficulty arises about this or any allied matter, I shall be glad to deal with it.

REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION
III. Housing and Future of Refugees

1. Inefficiency of Central Public Works Department¹

There have been many criticisms in the press recently about activities connected with the Central P.W.D.² Certain houses erected by the C.P.W.D. for refugees collapsed during the rains. I understand that only a few houses so collapsed. Presumably they are built over filled-in-pits. Even so the responsibility for these houses must rest with the P.W.D. and the contractors concerned. The general idea prevails that these constructions have been shoddy, the materials used are not good and supervision inadequate.

2. Another piece of criticism is in regard to furniture lying about in the open.³ This has been exposed to sun and rain apparently for several years and has, no doubt, greatly deteriorated. Meanwhile fresh furniture was purchased by Government departments. I saw the note that has been issued in regard to this furniture which stated that much of it had already been sold this month to others.

3. It seems to me that this lying about of furniture for years in the open cannot be justified. I have, in fact, drawn attention to this previously. Such furniture etc., as remains should be rapidly disposed of and the method of disposal should be somewhat as follows:-

(i) Government offices who may require it should take away such pieces as they want.

(ii) Schools should be allowed to take such furniture as they require.

(iii) Any other approved public organization should also be given a chance.

4. Reasonable prices should be charged. In the case of schools, they might be allowed to take it free on the recommendation of the Education Ministry, who may be told of this suggestion.

1. Note to Minister for Works, Mines and Power, 25 July 1949. File No. 45(17)/49-PMS.
2. On 15 and 16 July 1949, *The Statesman* reported that the Government of India's promise to complete houses for refugees before the monsoon set in had not been fulfilled. While houses in the Kingsway Camp and other places were still under construction, thousands of refugees living in Humayun's Tomb, Ferozeshah Kotla, Kingsway and other camps were exposed to monsoon rain. Scores of tents on which the Government had paid thousands of rupees were lying in water and mud in Humayun's Tomb Camp.
3. *The Hindustan Times* of 21 July 1949 reported that Government property worth lakhs of rupees was lying in the open left to the mercy of sun and rains in Central P.W.D. godowns. These included thousands of gunny bags with cement, an item which was scarce, and also a huge pile of furniture including chairs, tables and almirahs declared as "surplus furniture".

5. The Rehabilitation Ministry should be asked if their camps or the townships that they are building require this furniture. I feel sure that they could absorb the lot.

6. Steps should be taken to dispose of this furniture completely in the manner indicated above as rapidly as possible. If anything is left over, it should be auctioned.

7. Apart from the two instances given above, there has been continuous and incessant criticism of the Central P.W.D. I realize that it is a large and unwieldy department and delays may sometimes occur. But the general impression one gathers is of lack of efficiency.

8. I suggest to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Works, Mines and Power that it would be desirable to have two enquiries instituted:

(i) A rapid enquiry into the collapse of refugee houses; and

(ii) into the furniture which has been lying about for all these years.

9. The second enquiry should be a more thorough one by an outsider into the working of the whole Central P.W.D. and how it can be energized and made more efficient.

2. Winding up of Refugee Camps¹

You have announced that all your camps will be wound up by the 31st October and all supply of free food, etc. would be stopped. That is a right decision. But obviously it cannot be implemented unless some adequate arrangements are made to provide work or other occupations for the people displaced from camps. Otherwise we shall simply have large numbers of people besieging us and making our lives thoroughly miserable.

2. I know that you are thinking in terms of work centres. What I would like to impress upon you is that there must be a regular planning so that the alternative of a work centre or other form of rehabilitation is available before the 31st October. Without such an alternative the scheme will fail. We cannot leave this to chance, but must have it carefully worked out.

3. In this connection loans, etc., that are being arranged by you might be expedited.

1. Note to Mohanlal Saksena, 27 July 1949. J.N. Collection.

3. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
July 30, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of the 29th about stoppage of free feeding in relief camps² by 31st October.

I quite appreciate your argument and am convinced that this free feeding business should stop. What I pointed out in my previous letter was that the approach must be a fully constructive one and there should be planning from now onwards. It is not good enough just to inform State and other Governments that you are going to stop this free feeding. You have to devise adequate alternatives of work. You have to do this directly for the camps and areas under you. You have further to see to it that the provinces do it properly. Therefore, there must be intensive and accurate planning and checks as to how far your plan is succeeding. You have just three months. That is not very much, but it is enough if you take advantage of it fully.

You mention that the matter will be considered again in some kind of a conference in September. That does not appear to me to be good enough. The matter has to be considered from now onwards in every detail. It is not a question of free feeding being continued in part or whole or not. It is the alternative to this that has to be worked out with great care.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. At the end of June 1949, there were about 8,00,000 displaced persons living in 150 camps throughout the country excepting West Bengal.

4. To S.M. Srinagesh¹

New Delhi
August 8, 1949

My dear Srinagesh,

I am writing to you to confirm our conversation this evening about the Faridabad camp. There appears to be a certain lack of coordination there between the camp

1. File No.29(158)/49-PMS.

and the proposed new township authorities. The two are as a matter of fact intimately inter-related to each other and the most perfect coordination is necessary to avoid delay and waste. Coordination depends a great deal on the personal factor and the individuals concerned. I do not think there should be any difficulty about this.

In order to facilitate this coordination, I have suggested to you that the Faridabad Board² should have direct responsibility for the camp also. This will hardly make any difference to the Commandant's functions and duties and responsibility. It will, however, help to bring about the coordination that we desire. I am writing on these lines to the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

A recent instance of lack of coordination is the delay in making arrangements for the education of the children in Faridabad. Apparently no one is wholly responsible for this. Probably the Rehabilitation Ministry thought that the Commandant,³ that is presumably the Defence Ministry, should arrange for this education. I do not think this is the job of the Defence Ministry. But that Ministry functions on certain set lines and has to follow certain rules which may not be wholly applicable to refugee children and might delay matters. I am suggesting, therefore, that the Jamia Millia⁴ be asked to undertake this work.

I might mention another matter about which I wrote to Cariappa.⁵ This was the gradual reduction of the military personnel in Faridabad from below upwards, and their replacement by civilian personnel, largely chosen from the camp itself. I should like this to be done rather carefully so as not to upset the arrangements already made. The Commandant might select some people from the camp and train them for the work and then gradually appoint them to perform specific duties. This will be good psychologically and will introduce an element of self-help in the camp. It would also gradually reduce our expenditure on the camp.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. A statutory authority, the Faridabad Development Board, was founded in 1949 to build a township for 50,000 displaced persons from Dera Ghazi Khan and N.W.F.P. at Faridabad, 24 kms. south of Delhi on the Mathura Road. Rajendra Prasad was its Chairman while Otto Koenigsberger was the Planning Adviser. The Board had at its disposal 3,000 acres of land and a fund of Rs 2 crores.
3. Colonel Ramachandra Hari Limaye.
4. Jamia Millia Islamia.
5. Letter of 6 August 1949 to K.M. Cariappa. Not printed.

5. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
August 8, 1949

My dear Mehr Chand,

I am enclosing a note which Mridula Sarabhai has sent me about the demonstrations before my house.²

As I have told you, I propose to go to Faridabad on the 10th at about 6 p.m. I am sorry I cannot go earlier because of an important meeting of the Congress Party at 5 p.m.

I sent word to you today that, in my opinion, no police action should be taken to remove these refugees from in front of my house. All that should be done is to keep the roads clear and to prevent the refugees from misbehaving. I do not propose to see these crowds and I suggest that none of you should see them. My visit to Faridabad will probably upset their plans and make it rather ridiculous for them to stay here. Anyway, I am quite clear that we must not give in to this business. Whatever we may do to the others, I am also clear that we must strike out the names of these 8 or 9 persons who came to see me last evening. They should get no benefit, ration, loan or other. This will have to be made perfectly clear to them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.29(158)/49-PMS.
2. Two thousand refugees from the Kurukshetra and Faridabad camps and about 300 from Humayun's Tomb camp, including 50 children, squatted before Nehru's residence demanding immediate permanent resettlement anywhere between Ambala and Delhi or between Saharanpur and Meerut and the grant of individual loans.

6. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
August 8, 1949

My dear Mehr Chand,

The large group of Faridabad people who have been besieging my house have been a nuisance, but they have at least made us think furiously of the problems of the

1. File No.29(158)/49-PMS.

camp there. I was surprised to learn from Lady Nye that nothing has so far been done about education of the children because no one is apparently responsible for it. I am afraid that this lack of coordination will be harmful and I am, therefore, suggesting that the camp should also function under the Faridabad Board. I enclose a copy of a letter² I am sending to General Srinagesh.

You will notice what I have said in it about the education of the children being more or less handed over to the Jamia Millia people. I think immediate steps should be taken about this. Proper arrangements may take some time. But temporary arrangements can begin almost immediately. Jamia should appoint one competent educational head for the camp and he should choose his helpers, etc., and start off immediately.

The Faridabad camp has become a kind of test case for us in many ways and we must, therefore, take it in hand with the full intention of solving the various problems that arise there. In particular, work must be provided within the stipulated time. We cannot ask people to shift for themselves and stop their rations unless we provide work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See *ante*, item 4.

7. A New City at Faridabad¹

Now, all of you, please keep quiet and sit down. Those who are in charge of arrangements may also please sit down and not raise slogans for a little while because they disturb the meeting.

I have come here today to meet you and to talk to you. In the last two months I have taken a great interest in the new city that is being proposed to be set up near this Faridabad camp. There are many reasons for that. Firstly, it is because I am interested in the refugees from our borders. I have seen that they were not getting a place to settle down in the Punjab because Punjabis have come in great

1. Address to refugees at Faridabad camp, 10 August 1949. Translated from Hindi. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.

numbers from Pakistan. Their demand is that they should be accommodated first and only then the others. The refugees from the border areas have been greatly harassed for other reasons too. Some of them had been sent to the mountain areas like Chakrata and elsewhere. Then the problem was that the climate did not suit them if we sent them to the far corners of India. The places were too hot, the spoken languages were different and many other problems came up. There were not many places where we could easily settle these people from the borders.

Well, anyhow, several places were ultimately selected of which Faridabad is also one. This is also in the Punjab but it has been decided after consultations with the Government of Punjab to establish a new city. Many people have settled down perhaps not very well in the old cities. But the correct method, if proper arrangements are made, is to establish a new city, with new job opportunities where all of you may work and produce something. Arrangements have to be made for the education of the children. In short, you will be able to make a fresh start in life.

It is obvious that it is not an easy task to establish a new city. It takes time. It is also obvious that for nearly two years millions of you have undergone great suffering and are in a panic about how long it would take to settle down. But you are also aware of the magnitude of the problem. It has been estimated that about 65 to 70 lakh refugees have come from the various parts of Pakistan, from the borders, the Punjab, Sind, etc. It is an extremely difficult task for even the biggest country in the world to make arrangements for such large numbers. We often make mistakes and continue to make them because it was difficult to comprehend the problem nor did we have the qualified staff to undertake the arrangements. Well, we have learnt gradually from our mistakes and now we want to go about the task in a more orderly and stable manner.

We propose establishing different kinds of cities, like Faridabad and many others. The new city will come up at a distance of two miles from this Faridabad camp. Anyone of you who wishes can settle there and find work and apart from you, others will come from the Punjab. So our efforts continue.

When you came here from Pakistan, the first anxiety was to somehow save the refugees. So we brought them in by train, by road, and by air. Millions trekked their way into India braving great dangers, as you know. The trains had to face innumerable difficulties. There was one train from Bannu which became famous for the perils that it passed through.² All sorts of things happened.

After they came, the first problem was to somehow feed them and give them shelter, even if it was not very good. Large camps were opened in Kurukshetra and elsewhere. Some arrangements were made for providing employment but they were not enough. Now the question before us is to settle them more permanently in various places so that they get not only food and temporary shelter, but a place

2. On 12 January 1948 a train with 3,000 refugees *en route* from Bannu to Gujranwala was attacked. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, p.13.

from where they can make a fresh start in life. Of course, how they shape their new lives depends entirely on themselves because ultimately, no government can shape the life of an individual. A Government can help and it does. But ultimately how far and how fast you go ahead is in your own hands. In this entire problem of refugees, it is obvious that the Government could do a great deal. But ultimately, however much the Government may back up the issue, it cannot succeed if the refugees do not cooperate fully. Everything will come to a standstill in a year or two, in spite of all the money spent or efforts made. Therefore, it is very important that you should understand and help in the work. After all, whom will you be helping? It is not a question of helping the Government. You have to help in rehabilitating yourselves. At present very few people understand this. They think that if they pressurize or complain constantly or make a great deal of noise, the Government will provide houses or land or make new arrangements. They seem to feel that the Government will continue feeding them indefinitely. This is a completely mistaken notion. No government in the world can undertake a task like this.

I have come to you today. If you ask me for a house, what can I say except that I too want all of you to have houses as soon as possible. So let us help one another in building them. I am no magician that I can produce them out of a hat. It is beyond me and beyond the Government too. But, we can make every possible effort and of course, there are bound to be mistakes.

Take your camp, for instance. We said, build houses fast. All of you helped. But they were mud houses, and a little later when the rains came, they were all washed away. The new city will have permanent houses. Now you may criticize us for building such useless houses and enquire as to why they were not built properly. I know a lot of money was wasted. We had had them made in great haste so that some shelter might be available and perhaps if the rains had held off for a few days more, the roofs would have been put up.

The task before us is to rehabilitate you but it can be done only by hard work on the part of the Government and all of you. Nothing can be achieved by mere shouting and screaming. I have been rather surprised to see that in the last few days the people of Faridabad have been most vociferous in their complaints when, in reality, we are paying more attention to Faridabad than to any other refugee camp in India. We are spending a great deal of money and paying special attention to the arrangements by constituting Boards in which some of our best people are members and who are taking a great interest in the matter. A few selected people are here at the moment studying the issue of education of the refugee children and how to get it going as quickly as possible. Last evening we had a Board meeting to discuss the starting of cottage industries and other avenues of employment quickly. I think work will start on all these fronts within five to seven days. All this is not likely to be done for everyone at the same time. But more will be done rapidly because we want every man and woman to get some work. It will do them

good and they will be producing some essential commodities themselves. Your condition will improve and the new city will also grow rapidly.

So we have to work. Now for the last six to seven days, several hundred people from Faridabad are there in front of my house in Delhi.³ For the last year or two, refugees have been coming to me almost daily. These poor, miserable people come there and my staff meets them and gives help or advice whenever possible. Sometimes I too meet them and talk to them. This has been going on and we have tried to help them as far as possible. But now this new development of several hundreds coming and camping in front of my house and keep shouting slogans day and night; this I cannot tolerate because my nature is such that I can consider any demand made with affection but if people start fighting, I am ready to have a battle with them. So as a result of these hundreds of refugees coming there with their slogans and threats, I have stopped meeting refugees. I told them I would not meet anyone but I relented four days ago⁴ and sent for eight or nine of them and explained to them how wrong their methods were and how these were harming them instead of getting them what they want. If they had come to me in a group of 8 or 10, I would have gladly met them and listened to their problems. But how can I meet them when they come in hundreds and shout? It is obviously being done with a view to threaten and pressurize us so that we may give in to fear and help them in some way. I cannot do this nor do I think it wise to make promises under such circumstances. It is my duty to try to remove your difficulties if I can and I will do so and also try to reassure you. But if you begin to use threats and attack our houses, you can well imagine that the result will be just the opposite because nobody can function in this way.

So I called them four or five days ago and talked to them. I do not think my talk had much impact on most of them. I have refused to meet them after that and sent word to them that they could continue to sit there for as long as they wished. I told the police not to remove them from there. But I refuse to meet them or talk to them, even if they continue to sit there for days or even months. If anyone wants to meet me in Faridabad, I will go to Faridabad or if any individual wishes to see me, I am ready to meet him.

I want to clear up one matter with you. Why have these people gone there? Who has sent them and with what intentions? Who instigated them? I do not know, but perhaps you can tell me. I will come to know eventually but whoever has advised them has done something wholly wrong and has caused all of you some harm. You must realize this because this has created a bad impression about the border refugees in Delhi and elsewhere. If you acquire a reputation for creating trouble and making a noise, in Delhi and elsewhere, much of the help that you get in these places will come to a stop. It is not a good thing that you should get a bad reputation.

3. See *ante*, item 5.

4. On 7 August 1949.

I am not talking about you—you are a peaceful lot—but of the people who instigate such things. I will not say anything about the people who have been taken there either because most of them are simple folk who have been led astray by others into thinking that such methods will yield results. My complaint is about the people who are instrumental in instigating them and if they do not like our arrangements in Faridabad or elsewhere, they can go away. There is no compulsion for them to stay. This is after all not a prison. We wish to help those who want to stay here as much as possible and not superficially by merely giving doles and other relief which is of no use.

We have to help our fellow-countrymen who have lost their homes to settle in their new houses, so that they can gradually forget their sorrows and adopt new professions and earn money and produce more—in short, help them to stand on their own feet. Their children have to be educated and trained for some profession so that they may settle down properly and become good citizens of India. That would be the true definition of rehabilitation. By giving doles or putting up mud hovels for shelter we cannot claim to have discharged our duty. We need your help in doing this work properly and if you do not help, but obstruct, the result will be that the work will come to a standstill and neither you nor we will have gained anything.

I am sure you must have all sorts of complaints and you must tell us about them. If we can rectify them, we shall certainly do so. If we feel that your complaint is unjustified, we will tell you because sometimes I get complaints that the arrangements in the camp are too strict, almost like a military regiment. I do not think this kind of complaint is at all justified because we cannot do any work without discipline. We will become lax and the work will slow down. Therefore we have deliberately made military arrangements in order to ensure the proper functioning of the camp and see that the work may proceed fast and with efficiency. If we have not made such arrangements, I am absolutely convinced that you would have had to undergo great difficulties especially during the rains. Therefore the present arrangements will continue for sometime. But as a matter of fact, these are not part of the normal duties of an Army. They have many other tasks. So we want to lessen gradually the role of the Army in the running of the camp and the inmates of the camp should be trained to handle these responsibilities. Some of the officials can continue to supervise the arrangements but the bulk of the burden will fall upon you because ultimately it is your responsibility. We will help with men and money in establishing the city. But ultimately the burden has to be borne by all of you. If you cooperate wholeheartedly, the work can proceed rapidly. Otherwise it is likely to take a long time. You have to look at this in this way and understand the problems.

I do not wish that any of you should continue to stay here against your will. Those of you who wish to leave can do so with pleasure. If any of you want land, we can make some arrangements for that too, not here perhaps, but somewhere

close by. But those who wish to see the new city built and settle down will have to work very hard to be able to reap the fruits quickly. If they do not wish to work hard or do not like the place, it would be better for them to go elsewhere. The doors are wide open and India is a large country. But you will then not have the right to say that the Government does not help you because what the Government can do for you is laid out before you. We cannot undertake to help you in new places. I think, as I mentioned earlier, we have had more success in Faridabad than elsewhere, in every way. New factories and other small scale industries are going to be started to provide employment to everyone and arrangements will be made for the children's education. In short, a whole new city life is going to be started. You will not be very far from Delhi which will be an added advantage to you.

You may have heard that it has been decided to gradually stop free rations that are being given and instead to make arrangements to provide employment to everyone so that they can earn their living. This has given rise to complaints though there are still ten weeks to go before free rations are stopped, though the quantity will become less gradually over that period. So I want you to understand this matter fully. In the first place, it is not our intention to stop free rations without making adequate alternative arrangements. That would be very wrong. We are making all possible efforts to provide some work for every individual, as far as possible in keeping with his training and skill and where that is not possible, some work will be provided anyhow. We want to enable everyone to work so that they can buy whatever they need.

The fact is that two years ago when the influx of refugees began, if we had started all these things in the first month or two, we could have made a great deal of progress in establishing new cities and in finding work for the people. But when nearly fifty to sixty million people were on our heads, the longer the arrangements took, the more difficult it was for you to settle down easily. If you think that most of you can be accommodated in Delhi, you are mistaken. I know many people have opened up small trades and shops by the roadside. But after all there is a limit to the number of shops that can be opened. Only a few of you can settle down in Delhi. There is neither the possibility nor the space to accommodate thousands of shops. Moreover, please remember that even if you open up shops, you will only be selling goods produced by others. If you wish to become prosperous, you must produce things yourselves. Only then can you establish yourselves more easily. Therefore when I say that doles are to be stopped in two and a half months, it also implies our responsibility to provide jobs for you. I was looking at various plans last evening to see what kind of work is possible. The first requisite is that the work should enable you to assist in building the new city and produce more and earn more and learn new occupations or follow your old ones.

So, perhaps, within the next week you will see the beginning of that project. I do not know when it will be completed but efforts will be made to do it very fast and those of you who wish to work will definitely find employment. Obviously we will be giving help to those who are unable to find work, and the old, infirm and children will continue to get help. But we will try to find some light jobs for them so that every individual may help in building this city. As you know, if thousands of people participate in this task, it will be completed rapidly, otherwise it will take a long time. We do not want that officers and overseers and others should take over this project and go about it slowly, with no sense of urgency. We want you to bring life into the task and build this city with your own hands, hard work and intelligence into something strong and enduring. What you yourselves build will always be dear to you.

So please bear all this in mind. I have told you about the situation as it is, without exaggeration so that you may understand all this and realize how you, I and everyone of us are involved in this great task. Such things are being done elsewhere too. But this is a special project and the sooner you complete it and finish building the new city of Faridabad, you can leave this camp. Your fortunes will then be tied up with the new city and it will be up to you to improve your situation. In this task, I consider the welfare of children the most important aspect because, after all, their entire lives are ahead of them and if proper arrangements for their welfare and education are not made, who will look after our future? Therefore we attach great importance to the welfare of children, their education and other matters and we have enlisted the help of some eminent educationists of our country in the arrangements for these children's education. I hope they will help and produce good results.

We have to consider all these problems. You can bring your complaints to the officers here, or if one or two of you wish to see me, I am prepared to meet you. But big deputations in front of my house will not help you, and I am not prepared to meet anyone like that. I have told them that they are wasting their time. Perhaps most of them are being misled by others who treat them as hirelings. It is really regrettable because no one benefits from all this. If anyone has the money to spend, he could easily spend it in constructive help to the refugees instead of fomenting disaffection.

This is all that I wish to say just now and I would like to assure you that though there are many new refugee settlements, I have had a special relationship with the Faridabad Board and whether by chance or intentionally, I have taken a special interest. I have tried to be present whenever there are Board meetings. One of our experienced leaders is the Chairman of the Board—Dr Rajendra Prasad. He accepted my request that he should look into the education of the children here. He is taking a great deal of interest in this and other matters too, such as finding jobs for you. So there are plenty of people willing to help. Now the question is whether you will help yourselves or not? Will you be content to indulge in quarrelling or

to cooperate with others in helping yourselves? You will be helping us if you help yourselves so that this great task can be completed soon and your problems solved.
Jai Hind.

8. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
 August 13, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Amtus Salam came to see me this morning about Rajpura camp and township.² She drew my attention particularly to three matters. One was the delay in things happening there. She suggested that we might do for Rajpura what we have just done for Faridabad, that is to say make the Board responsible for both the camp and the township. This would produce coordination and eliminate delay. I think this is a good idea and I hope you will give effect to it immediately. Let the Board feel responsible for this work and use the camp inmates for building up of the township. Any separation between the camp and the township is bound to lead to delay and waste.

The second point Amtus Salam spoke to me about was about giving two months' allowances altogether. I understand that one month's has already been just given. She wants two more months' to be given immediately. She said that if this was done it would enable many people to get a footing in some way or other. They would not ask for the money again. I think this matter might also be considered by you. It does not involve any extra expense and if the refugees want it, I do not see why we should not accept their wishes in the matter.

The third point was the lack of arrangements for the education of the children in Rajpura. This ignoring of education always distresses me. I do not know if

1. File No. 29(150)/49-PMS.

2. The Rajpura Development Board, a statutory body under the chairmanship of Rajendra Prasad, was formed to rehabilitate over 50,000 non-Punjabi refugees at Rajpura near Ambala. The Board was given a loan of Rs 2 crores to build the camp and township.

the Talimi Sangh³ or the Jamia⁴ are capable of undertaking all these various jobs. I would like them to undertake them because I feel sure that their method is the best. If the camp is handed over to the Board, as I hope it will be, then we may recommend to the Board to take charge of this education business immediately and consult Nai Talim people or Jamia Millia.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Nai Talimi Sangh was set up to propagate the scheme of 'basic education', outlined at the Wardha Educational Conference in 1937. It was sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi, and was designed to develop the basic abilities of the child by giving primary place to manual training in the child's education. It was believed that such an education apart from stimulating the intellect "would be a kind of insurance against unemployment."
4. The Jamia Millia Islamia was one of the premier national institutions started in 1920 in response to Gandhiji's call for boycott of educational institutions run by the Government. Started as a school in Aligarh, it was later shifted to Delhi and developed into a university under the guidance of Zakir Husain who had introduced the scheme of basic education at the school level.

9. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
August 13, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

I have been giving a great deal of thought to the question of helping refugees in the future. We have repeatedly stated that free rations will stop by the 31st October and that all our refugee camps will be converted into work centres by then. Yet we know that it is almost impossible to make this conversion by that date. Nearly two years have passed since this refugee problem faced us and it is true that we have done a great deal in regard to it. Nevertheless, I feel that rehabilitation as such has not been tackled scientifically. We have thought in terms of building townships, of giving loans, and so on. Lately we have begun to think more of real rehabilitation by work. I fear it will take a considerable time before we succeed in this. The fault lies partly in us and in the lack of trained human material with us. Partly it lies in the refugees themselves, who do not cooperate at all. I have been especially concerned about the slowness of progress of education for the refugee children.

1. File No. 29(72)/48-PMS.

I have lately stated, especially in relation to Faridabad, that if we cannot provide some kind of work, whatever it may be, then a certain responsibility remains with us to give other kinds of help. Whether we say that or not, the fact remains that we cannot easily get rid of that responsibility.

If we have been rather slow in dealing with these problems, the provinces have been even more slow. I think that we must consider this question of education for refugee children, whether in camps or elsewhere, as the very first responsibility. On that depends our future. Also I consider that our normal educational process is too slow and too expensive for this job and, if I may say, just not good enough. The only way to deal with it is on the Gandhian methods and therefore I am glad that you are asking Talimi Sangh people and the Jamia to take charge of this. Whether they have enough trained human material with them for the purpose, I do not know. But I see no other alternative. Let them provide as many teachers as they can and let us or the Education Ministry help providing more, but the entire direction must lie with them. We must remove bottlenecks and give them all the help they require. In doing so, we should make it perfectly clear to the refugees that Government recognize this education and consider it at least at the same level as other education. This should be said to remove any apprehension in the minds of people about the quality of this education and the value attached to it.

There is another matter which has been occupying my mind for a number of days. Long ago, even in September 1947, I had thought of some kind of conscription of refugees, at least of the able-bodied ones, so that the persons we help should be under some kind of military discipline for any work that we might give them. That idea of mine was not accepted then. I want to revive that idea now, though in a somewhat limited field.

The idea is this: those persons who are absorbed in our work centres fully do not require any other help, if they choose to carry on that work. About the others who desire further help, we should clearly lay down that they must join some kind of semi-military formation, when we shall look after them, feed them, train them, make them work and treat them generally as if they were in a military discipline. The kind of work will be any kind that we choose. It may be manual labour or other work or a mixture of the two. The first month or so should be just drilling, etc. to make them fit for disciplined work. This would apply to able-bodied men from 15 upwards to 40. I am not clear about the women. But I would suggest trying this with women also, though separately.

No one will be forced to join this semi-military group. But if a person does not join it, he will not be entitled to any ration or any other kind of help from us. He will continue to be entitled to the normal refugee's share of property, etc. which from time to time may be available. A person who joins will be expected to join for a year, but if special necessity arises, he can leave after a month's notice. In the course of the year, we shall try to absorb them in some work centre or other

work or profession, whenever opportunity offers itself. If not, they will continue doing work in our military groups.

This may be a little expensive to begin with. But I am quite sure that it will be good for the persons concerned both physically and mentally. The main advantage of it is that we shall get an opportunity to weed out persons who do not want to subject themselves for discipline or work.

I want you to think about this and consult your colleagues. This really is the only effective way of dealing with the refugee problem. There is no compulsion in it, because we do not force anyone to join. There is of course some compulsion of events. If a person does not join, he cannot complain that we are not helping him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION**IV. Allotment of Land**

1. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1949

My dear Sachar,

I have had a talk with Mohanlal Saksena after his tour of the East Punjab and his meeting with you. On the whole, he has given me a fairly satisfactory account.

There is one matter which rather disturbs me. I am sorry to learn that the permanent or semi-permanent allotments of land,² which were intended by you, are being delayed.³ Every such delay is unfortunate and prevents settling down. I understand also that there is some intention on the part of your Government to transfer some of the refugees from the lands which had temporarily been allotted to them.⁴ Any such transfer is likely to cause a good deal of trouble and upsetting. There would be uncertainty all round and new problems would arise. I think that such transfers should be avoided unless there is some overriding necessity for them.

It may be that more land has been allotted to people than is their share. If so, the excess land should be taken away from them, leaving them in possession of the rest. A transfer now would probably come in the way of food cultivation also.

The proposal made by Mohanlal Saksena about the closing of camps and to advance a loan of rupees one crore to the East Punjab Government for the purpose of converting the camps into work centres seems to me a generous one. I do not myself see why this process, if efficiently managed, should cost so much. Even if it means additional cost, that should be in the nature of capital investment and not recurring expenditure. A work centre is meant to produce goods and wealth, though it may not be on an economic basis completely.

Another matter that Mohanlal has drawn attention to is that of numerous Amritsar houses which might well be used after some repairs. I think that you are already considering this.

Generally, Mohanlal Saksena told me, he found greater enthusiasm for work, and going ahead in East Punjab now than he had done previously. I am very glad to hear it and I am sure this will bear results.

I am told by Saksena that there is someone in Buria by name of Bhavanidas who is carrying on objectionable propaganda against the Buria Muslims. Bhavanidas

1. File No. 29(2)/47-PMS.

2. The scheme of the quasi-permanent allotment of land to displaced persons in East Punjab and the Patiala Union envisaged allotment of evacuee lands to all those who owned lands in West Pakistan on the basis of their past holdings.

3. The scheme was introduced on 4 August 1949.

4. The scheme, as announced, threatened to displace 58,000 landless cultivators holding temporary allotted lands and 17,600 old tenants-at-will of evacuee Muslim landlords.

was previously a member of the so-called Goodwill Mission, but he was subsequently discharged. This kind of propaganda should be sternly discouraged.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
August 8, 1949

My dear Sachar,

You will remember writing to me about the possible use of the military to help you in your scheme of re-allotment of land. In other words you wanted to transfer a number of refugees from one place to another and proposed to use force to this end. I pointed out to you that any use of the military in this connection on a considerable scale was to be strongly deprecated. This cannot be called using the military on a sudden emergency. It would be the use of the Army just to enforce decisions of the civil government in the normal course of affairs. This, I think, is completely wrong. I hope, therefore, that you gave up the idea of using the military in this connection.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION
V. The Nilokheri Scheme

1. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
July 2, 1949

My dear Mehr Chand,

I have just received your letter of the 2nd July about S.K. Dey's scheme.² That scheme suffers from one grave disability. It is too expensive. It may be possible and even desirable to have more than one model township even though they might cost more money. But if we think of the whole scheme of rehabilitation, we have to think in terms of our resources and our capacity and not build castles in the air.

When Lady Nye visited Nilokheri³ some days ago, P.A. Narielwala accompanied her. It was then suggested that Dey, Narielwala and an engineer might sit together and examine Dey's schemes and try to bring them down to a more practical level. A scheme like Dey's should ultimately be judged by the productivity of it and how soon it can become self-sufficient and productive. I should like this Committee of three to go into this matter and produce their recommendations. I wish you would remind them of it and ask them to speed up their work.

I entirely agree with you that we should have clear ideas as to where we are going and what route we are taking. It is not a matter merely of the Ministry of Finance telling us how much money they can give. They can after all only give what they have got and no more. But if our schemes are really productive ones and in the nature of an investment, then we can think on different lines and we may even spread out more ambitiously. Of course, everything will depend upon our future capacity even to raise loans. We have to strike a balance between all these things.

Therefore, the real question is not so much of what the Finance Ministry can supply but what, having regard to all the circumstances in India and our general objectives, we ought to aim at.

The Ministry of Rehabilitation has tackled a very difficult problem and has done very good work. Nevertheless, I cannot help thinking that the way to approach this problem is somewhat different from the way all our Ministries, whether Rehabilitation or Education or any other, have tackled it. It is true that we are gradually learning from experience and bettering our methods. The whole approach

1. File No. 29(164)/49-PMS.
2. The report of the Committee consisting of P.A. Narielwala, O.H. Koenigsberger and S.K. Dey on rural-cum-urban development, strongly recommended the adoption of an agro-industrial economy for the future pattern of development in rural areas. The Committee visualized an agro-industrial town to support and being supported by the hinterland of villages, each complementing the other.
3. A township near Kurukshetra, 125 kms. from Delhi, built on 1,300 acres of land around a vocational training centre. It was planned as a rural-cum-urban refugee settlement on evacuee land with reciprocal relations with surrounding villages. It was completed in 1951.

must be one of training the human being to productive effort, apart from such social training as we can give. This aspect of production has not been emphasized except lately. The second approach must be of trying to gain the enthusiastic cooperation of non-governmental agencies to do this work as much as possible. Thus take education. I was telling Mohanlal Saksena this morning that I would have liked the whole problem of refugee education to be handed over lock, stock and barrel to the Nai Talim Association in Wardha plus Dr Zakir Husain's Jamia Millia. This was an ideal opportunity for us to experiment with Nai Talim. If we ask the Education Ministry to undertake this job, we simply get into the old governmental ruts and produce huge and frightfully expensive schemes. The Nai Talim people would certainly cost much less and will almost certainly produce better results. Their whole education is based on production.

Similarly I would encourage such organizations to undertake bodies of rehabilitation in a cooperative way apart from governmental effort. The more I could do so, the better. Thus I would bring into the field of work large bodies of public-spirited persons who may lack experience sometimes but who would have the urge to produce results, which is often lacking in governmental effort. And they would be cheaper. Mistakes would no doubt be made and money would sometimes be wasted, yet the wastage would be relatively little and the ultimate saving great.

There is no reason why we should stick to one type of experiment in rehabilitation. We can have any number of them going at the same time and as we learn from them we can improve upon them or emphasize some and discourage others.⁴

Thus, in my mind, the question of a maximum limit of average expenditure on rehabilitation does not appear to be the final consideration, although it may be borne in mind. If we proceed on the line of thinking that our expenditure is investment to be returned if not to us then to the nation in some form or other, then we can spend more. If, on the other hand, we are just somehow or other for the moment settling people and thus getting rid of our responsibility, then we have to think on a much lower scale.

There is no question of our taking away the provinces' responsibility, but certainly if we pay the funds we have every right to insist on certain general standards to be observed and sometimes on our doing the work ourselves. As I have stated above I have no desire to do the work directly and I welcome other agencies, official or non-official, to take it up, provided we have the general direction in our hands.

4. Nehru wrote again to Mehr Chand Khanna on 21 July 1949: "These schemes (of S.K. Dey) represent a different approach from the one we have had so far. Whether they are feasible or not, I do not know. But I like the approach. It may be that we may experiment on a larger scale with some such scheme."

These are some vague ideas I am placing before you which I hope you will share with Mohanlal Saksena. On receipt of the three-man committee's proposals or Dey's revised proposals, I should like to go into this matter more fully with you and Mohanlal Saksena.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION
VI. Abducted Women

1. To Rameshwari Nehru¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1949

My dear Bijju Bhabi,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st June.² I think that there is considerable force in what you write and the problem of recovery of women should be reviewed. I agree with much that you say.³ But I do not agree with what has been said in regard to the political angle.⁴ I know that many people think in that way. But they think completely wrongly, so far as I am concerned, and I see no reason why I should be made to think wrongly or act wrongly because others are resentful.

But your other reasons appear to me valid enough. I am inclined to think, however, that our stopping this recovery work completely will be, both psychologically and practically, wrong. There may be exceptional cases which deserve handling. Apart from this, there might be a feeling of great disappointment and despair in the minds of some, who still hope to get back their lost relatives. Perhaps the best course might be gradually to tone down this work without putting an end to it completely.⁵

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Rameshwari Nehru thought that it was too late to pursue the recovery of women with any benefit to anyone and added "we utterly failed in recovering women who are exploited and generally indulge in recovering those who have adjusted themselves in their new surroundings."
3. She stressed that in recovering the women the objective was to promote human happiness. But due to lack of close coordination, follow-up system, and compulsory repatriation from India, the scheme rather brought about uncertainty, grief, dislocation "without in the least promoting human happiness." From the women's angle she raised three main objections. Firstly, women workers played no part in the disposal of the recovered women. This was left to the superintendents of police of India and Pakistan. Secondly, women exploited for commercial purposes and who were the most in need of being rescued, were seldom traced or recovered. Thirdly, the women had been reduced to the status of chattels having no right to decide their future and mould their own lives.
4. She wrote that there was a good deal of resentment and dissatisfaction amongst the Hindus and the Sikhs due to great disparity between the figures of recovery from the two Dominions. From November 1948 to May 1949 the number of Muslims recovered from India was 1,030 while non-Muslims recovered from Pakistan during this period numbered 158. She also mentioned wrongful arrests and unnecessary harassment of innocent Hindu women in India.
5. Rameshwari Nehru was strongly of the view that from the end of July 1949 the recovery work should be stopped altogether, that the special recovery ordinance enforced on 1 October 1948 and modified thereafter be cancelled and instead the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, which was part of the ordinary Penal Code, be enforced.

However, this is a matter which requires careful consideration. As you know, Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar has been in charge of this and he must be consulted and his opinion taken. I am therefore sending your note to him.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

2. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
July 21, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of the 21st July about the recovery of abducted women. It is true that the Cabinet has decided in favour of re-enacting the ordinance.² They did so after a full discussion....

For my part, I think the ordinance should be re-enacted and I am not at all impressed by the arguments which have been advanced against this view.³ I am least impressed by what is said to be the refugee sentiment in this matter. Briefly put, it is one of retaliation and that does not appeal to me. Nor do I think that the least pressure would be exercised on Pakistan by our adopting that attitude. If I can save even a few of our girls, I want to do so and it is a painful idea that I should give up trying to do so, when there is still some chance left. I am sure that those refugees who have any women relatives still in Pakistan would have been deeply disappointed, if we had wound up this show.

The re-enacting of the ordinance does not commit us to any policy. It is open to us to slow down our work or at any stage to close it. Not to re-enact it meant a final decision which could not easily have been reversed later. The Cabinet felt therefore that no such final decision should be taken, but that it is open to us to consider the matter in another month or so later.

If necessary, the ordinance should certainly be placed before the Legislature.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. On 30 July 1949, the Recovery of Abducted Persons Ordinance was repromulgated pending introduction of a bill on the same lines in the Parliament.

3. It was argued by the critics that while the earlier ordinance promulgated on 1 February 1949 helped in recovery of a large number of abducted women in India, the efforts made in Pakistan had been very little. See also the preceding item.



AT LEH AIRPORT, 4 JULY 1949



AT HEMIS MONASTERY, LADAKH, 5 JULY 1949



OUTSIDE THE MOSQUE IN LEH, 7 JULY 1949



AT LEH, 7 JULY 1949

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

1. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have long been feeling that our Constituent Assembly tends to become rather stale. It was of course elected for a particular purpose and at that time no one thought of its functioning as a Parliament.

New elections are not likely to take place for another eighteen months or so. That is a long time and something should be done before that. Obviously we cannot have a real election before that. Can we do anything else?² I think it would be definitely wrong for us to continue as we are after the inauguration of the Republic. In any event that change-over will require certain formal steps like a new Cabinet, etc.

The only thing I can think of for the moment is that we should ask for fresh elections from the provincial assemblies for the Constituent Assembly or rather for Parliament. The Constituent Assembly as such will finish its functions after passing the Constitution.

Thus the provincial assemblies could easily elect their quota of members for the Central Parliament some time towards the end of this year, in November or December. This new Parliament³ would not be essentially different from the old one, but at any rate it will bring in some fresh blood and will give new life to our work and avoid the sense of staleness.

If this idea is approved, it might be included in the transitional clauses⁴ of the Constitution.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 251-252.
2. Patel replied on 23 June 1949 that fresh elections for Parliament should be held only after the Constitution had been finalized.
3. Patel stated: "the new Parliament will be there only during the period of transition between the proclamation of the Republic and the election and convening of the new Legislature," and added that the fresh elections may conveniently be held sometime in December 1949 or January 1950 so that the new Legislature might meet after 26 January 1950.
4. Temporary, transitional and special provisions of the Constitution in Article 372-A sanction the power of the President to adopt laws, Article 373 gives the President power to make orders in respect of persons under preventive detention in certain cases, and Article 392 authorizes the President to remove "difficulties".

2. Elections to the First Parliament¹

Elections under the new Constitution cannot possibly take place before the end of 1950.² Probably the new Constitution will come into effect, apart from the elections, on the 26th January 1950.

The present Constituent Assembly has been functioning also as Parliament. This was not at first intended but the situation compelled us to adopt this course. The Constitution-making body will complete its task probably by October next. After that only the Parliament will remain.

It is desirable that this Parliament should, as far as possible, renew itself and its mandate as early as possible. It should be remembered that it was elected for a completely different purpose and many members of the provincial assemblies are also its members. This anomaly should be avoided.

It is proposed therefore that as soon as the Constitution has been finalized, fresh elections for the Central Parliament should take place. These elections can only be held on the old basis and by the existing provincial assemblies and State assemblies. This new Parliament will only function for the period of transition between the proclamation of the Republic and the election of the new Legislature.

This matter is for the Constituent Assembly itself to determine, but it is desirable for the Cabinet to send its own recommendation to this effect. If this is agreed to, the election by the provincial assemblies would take place sometime in December or early in January, so that the new Legislature could meet after the 26th January 1950.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary for circulation amongst Members of the Cabinet, 25 June 1949. File No. 113/CF/49, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. Elections to the first Parliament took place in 1951-52.

3. To B.R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
July 27, 1949

My dear Ambedkar,

I am writing to you about a small matter, but something that has a little significance.

1. J.N. Collection.

I think that we should call the West Bengal Province just 'Bengal'. Bengalis want this to be done and it would please them greatly if we make this change.²

I understand that East Bengal is no longer called 'East Bengal', but 'Eastern Pakistan'.³ That is, the Pakistanis have dropped the word "Bengal" from their area. Therefore no difficulty should arise in our calling West Bengal just "Bengal." It sounds better and people like it.

I suggest this so that in the list of our provinces in the Constitution, this change may be made. You can put it up before the Drafting Committee and the Party.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. After deliberations at the Constituent Assembly the Drafting Committee decided to maintain the *status quo* 'West Bengal' in the list of provinces, which continues till today.
3. In fact, the eastern wing of Pakistan, constituting East Bengal and Sylhet district of Assam, was called East Bengal till November 1955, when the Government of Pakistan integrated the existing provinces and Princely States and made the country a federation of two units West Pakistan and East Pakistan. On 16 December 1971, East Pakistan ceased to exist and independent Bangladesh came into existence.

4. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
July 30, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of the 29th regarding an amendment of the Constitution.² I shall have this matter put up before the Cabinet after the Ministry of Law has looked into it. But even before that you should discuss this matter fully with Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar who has been dealing with such subjects in inter-Dominion conferences.

The amendment suggested is probably a right one. But we have not been very happy in our dealing with the problem of evacuee property. Under pressure from

1. File No. 16(36)/49-PMS.
2. Mohanlal Saksena suggested an amendment of the Constitution with a view to including matters relating to displaced persons in the Concurrent List of Subjects. This was included in the Constitution later.

the displaced persons we have taken steps from time to time which have reacted against us and in the end done injury to the cause of the displaced persons.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
August 1, 1949

My dear Matthai,

I have your letter of today's date² about Section 24 of the Draft Constitution.³

For the last six months or more, there have been repeated arguments about this Section and even now there is no final agreed formula. Roughly speaking one might say that the Congress Premiers and their Cabinet and a large body of opinion in the Assembly here are on one side, while some people are on the other.

The whole question arose in this way because of some narrowly legalistic interpretation of lawyers about compensation to be paid for zamindari property acquired. In other words it made our programme for the abolition of the zamindari system incapable of realization. The consequence of this appeared to be, as things are now, a complete collapse of the zamindari system and forcible possession of

1. File No. 16(38)/49-PMS.
2. Matthai had written that he had heard very disturbing reports about the discussions regarding Section 24 of the Draft Constitution relating to payment of compensation. He feared that any provision in the Draft Constitution which whittled down the idea of compensation would have extremely serious repercussions, both on the internal and external finance.
3. The compromise draft of the first two clauses of Article 24 of the Draft Constitution regarding right to property read: "(1) No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law, (2) No property, movable or immovable including any interest in, or in any company owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition, unless the law provides of compensation for the property taking possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies the principles on which and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined." Subsequently the Article was renumbered as Article 31—on 'Compulsory Acquisition of Property' and words "and given" was added at the end of the second clause.

the zamindari without compensation. There appeared to be no other alternative. Therefore one is driven to the obvious conclusion that compensation should be paid in bonds, securities, etc. and not merely in cash.

As a matter of fact the American Government has put through a complicated and a very ingenious system of land reform in Japan.⁴ This is based on the acquisition of all land in Japan by the State and then its distribution to small peasant proprietors. Payment of compensation is through bonds. Wherever this question has been tackled, payment has been either through bonds or not at all, which means expropriation. There is no middle way, though of course there might be part payment in cash, especially in regard to the smaller holdings.

The question now has resolved itself into two parts: (1) whether compensation should be paid both in cash and bonds or in cash only; (2) whether the Parliament should be the judge of the quantum of compensation or the courts. It seems to me clear that we must allow bonds also and that Parliament should be the judge. Indeed if Parliament is not the judge, it can, through other means, such as progressively heavy taxation, practically destroy the value of the property.

There are at present three or four drafts of Section 24. The Drafting Committee has decided to place all of them before the Party meeting, as it cannot decide the main principle. I have asked B.N. Rau to send you these various drafts. You can of course meet any member of the Drafting Committee and I hope that you will come to the Party meeting when this matter is considered. You can always see me of course.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Under the terms of the Farms Land Reform Law, passed by the Japanese Diet in October 1946, absentee landlordism was wholly prohibited, though a landlord was allowed to keep upto two and a half acres in the community in which he lived.

6. The Constitutional Status of Delhi¹

Sir, may I indicate in a few sentences the attitude of Government in regard to this

1. Debate in the Constituent Assembly, 1 August 1949. *Constituent Assembly Debates, Official Report*, Vol. IX, 30 July 1949 to 18 September 1949, pp. 73-83.

important matter? Obviously the question of Delhi is an important point for this House to consider. It was for this reason that over two years ago this House appointed a Committee² for the purpose and, normally speaking, the recommendations of the Committee appointed by this House would naturally carry great weight and would possibly be given effect to. But ever since that Committee was appointed, the world has changed; India has changed and Delhi has changed vitally. Therefore to take up the recommendations of that Committee, regardless of these mighty changes that have taken place in Delhi would be to consider this question completely divorced from reality. But the fact remains that this question has got to be considered and all of us or nearly all of us here sympathize very greatly with those citizens of Delhi and representatives of Delhi who feel that this great and ancient city of Delhi should not be left out of the picture when this Constitution comes into effect. Therefore we have to give thought to it. Now giving thought to it, the first thing that comes up for consideration is this that the situation in Delhi is not a static situation; it is a changing situation and if we put down any clauses in the Constitution, we rather petrify that situation. It is far better to deal with it in a way which is capable of future change, i.e., by Act of Parliament rather than by fixed provisions in the Constitution.

Again, these provisions do not deal with Delhi only but with other areas which are called Centrally Administered Areas or the like. It may be that still further areas may come into our ken. Therefore, anything that we may put down in the Constitution must be something which applies to all. That is a difficult thing to do because those areas are completely different. These areas, whether it is a Coorg or Ajmer-Merwara or Panth-Piploda or Delhi, they are completely different and it is frightfully difficult to find a common formula for them. For all these reasons it seems inadvisable to put in the Constitution any precise form of approach to this question except to indicate that something should be done and leave it open to Parliament to do it.

Now Mr Deshbandhu Gupta has brought forward two amendments.³ I do not know if he has moved them formally or not; anyhow he spoke about them. One was rather a general disapproval of the present amendment—not on any precise ground—but because he thought that it rather led away from the previous draft. Now, I have little to say about it except I think that the amendment moved by Dr Ambedkar seems to cover the entire ground fairly well. It is up to this House

2. The Constituent Assembly appointed on 30 July 1947 a committee with Pattabhi Sitaramayya as its Chairman to recommend suitable constitutional changes in the administrative systems in the Chief Commissioners' Provinces.
3. These amendments envisaged the administration of Delhi by a Lieutenant Governor appointed by the President with a Council of Ministers and a Legislative Assembly. The representative of Delhi in the two Houses of Parliament could be viewed from what was stipulated in the Constitution.

to apply it in anyway it likes to Delhi, but please do not try to change that amendment simply thinking in terms of Delhi and thereby put difficulties in your way if you have to apply that to some other areas. That is point one.

The second point is in regard to a clause that he wishes to add to this present amendment of Dr Ambedkar. So far as the principle of that clause is concerned, I have absolutely no objection. My only difficulty is that I should not like to put in something in a hurry without careful consideration of the drafting of it. But so far as I am concerned—and I think I speak for most of the members of the Drafting Committee—they accept the principle and they intend to bring that in somewhere in the Constitution at some later stage. That is to say the principle of some kind of representation in the Central Legislature of these areas—that principle is accepted and will be provided for somewhere or other in the Constitution.

Now, finally, I should like to say that it is our intention, that is the Government's intention to bring forward some kind of a Bill to deal with Delhi in the course of this year. We cannot do so, so far as I understand, till this Constitution itself is passed or till this House enables us to do so. Therefore in any case we have to wait—till whether October, or November I do not know—but we hope to proceed with this matter. Meanwhile we shall think about it and will bring it up later dealing with Delhi.⁴

4. On 26 January 1950, Delhi became a Part C State under the new Constitution. Subsequently under the Part C States Act, 1951, Delhi was granted a legislature with 48 members and was governed by a regularly constituted ministry responsible to the legislature. Under the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, and Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1956, Delhi was constituted as a Union Territory. Finally under Delhi Administration Act, 1966, a Lieutenant Governor, Metropolitan Council and an Executive Council have been provided for Delhi.

7. The Union and the Salt Tax¹

Sir, I am grateful to you for your indulgence in permitting me to say a few words in regard to this matter.² There is hardly anyone in this House who does not feel

1. Statement in the Constituent Assembly, 8 August 1949. *Constituent Assembly Debates, Official Report*, Vol. IX, 30 July 1949 to 18 September 1949, pp. 241-242.
2. On 5 August 1949, Mahavir Tyagi had moved an amendment to delete the first clause of Article 253 which read: "no duties on salt shall be levied by the Union."

rather strongly on this question of salt. Quite apart from the economic implications involved in this matter, salt, at one time in our national history, in the history of our struggle for freedom, became the word of power which moved large masses of human beings and brought about a strange revolution in the country in the course of a few months. Therefore, whenever this question comes up, naturally, we are moved not only by the immediate exigencies of the situation but also by its past history. So, I suppose it is because of this that at one time the Drafting Committee, or some committee, put in this article in our Constitution. As I said all of us must necessarily feel a great deal of sympathy for their outlook. Nevertheless, when we gave thought to this matter, careful thought—because we are building something for the future and it would be wrong to do something which might come in the way of the national good of the future—we felt that if we put this clause in as it was it would certainly come in our way. For instance, as it is drafted, it would obviously prevent us even from dealing with foreign salt which may be dumped into this country.

Now it may be suggested that we might leave out foreign salt and deal with indigenous salt. Even then unless you go carefully into this matter and unless you provide for all kinds of possible anomalies, difficulties would arise. That kind of thing might well be done by way of legislation when you can go into all its details and clarify matters. But it is very difficult to deal with that in a Constitution, clarifying conflicting situations which might involve many uncertain factors. Therefore, it seemed to us that it would not be desirable to include this article as originally put in the Constitution. Therefore, I stand to support the amendment that Mr Tyagi has moved for the deletion of this article.

May I say just two things in this connection? One is this: let no member of this House and let no member of the public outside this House imagine for an instant that this Government and, I imagine, any successor Government, will think in terms of taxing salt. That is quite clear. The second is this. If this House so desires, we can go into the question in a separate law which can be dealt with by Parliament in detail, providing for all possible contingencies. To put it in the Constitution may tie our hands up and create difficulties in future. Therefore, I trust that this House will accept Mr Tyagi's amendment.³

3. The amendment suggesting deletion of first clause of Article 253 was adopted, while in the second clause for words 'revenue of India' the words 'Consolidated Fund of India' were substituted.

8. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
August 8, 1949

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letters of August 3rd and August 4th.

About the flag, we have sent quite clear directions.² We shall repeat them, if necessary.

About the National Song, I think we should wait now for the decision of the Constituent Assembly, which cannot long be delayed. For my part, I think it would be most unfortunate for *Vande Mataram* to be adopted as the National Anthem.³

I thought it was decided that Governors should use the National Flag outside their provinces. I shall enquire further into this matter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. On 21 May 1948. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 6, p. 280.
3. On 24 January 1950, the President of the Constituent Assembly announced that while *Jana Gana Mana* was adopted as the National Anthem of India, the song *Vande Mataram* would be "honoured equally with *Jana Gana Mana* and shall have equal status with it."

9. Acquisition of Property and Compensation¹

Article 24 of the Draft Constitution for India,² dealing with the acquisition of property and the compensation to be paid therefor, has given rise to a great deal of argument.

1. Note for the Cabinet, 10 August 1949. File No.16(38)/49-PMS.
2. Article 24 was subsequently renumbered by the Drafting Committee as Article 31 and its clauses 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 were modified and recast.

2. In the course of this argument many rather secondary issues, but which are nevertheless very vital, have been raised. The matter has thus become more important than it need have been.

3. The principal issue which has led to a difference of opinion among the members of the Assembly relates to the power of the judiciary to hold that the principles of compensation laid down by legislature are within its competence and in accordance with the fundamental provisions of the Constitution or not. That is to say, whether the judiciary can overrule the legislature insofar as the principles governing the compensation for land or property acquired are concerned. The actual application of such principles will, of course, always be justifiable.

4. There are three viewpoints:-

(1) That the courts should have this power in regard to the principles governing compensation both for zamindari property and non-zamindari or non-agricultural property, that is in all cases where compensation is to be given. The principles laid down by the legislature may be challenged in a court of law.

(ii) The will of the legislature should be supreme in regard to the laying down of these principles of compensation and they should not be capable of being challenged in a court of law. The legislature would include the Central as well as the State legislature. It may be laid down, however, that any law dealing with such matters requires the previous approval or the subsequent assent of the President of the Republic.

(iii) Two types of property are differentiated, zamindari property and the like and other kinds of property, chiefly industrial plants, etc. In the case of the former, it is proposed that the legislature should be the final authority to determine the principles of compensation on acquisition. In the case of the latter, it is suggested that the courts should have the power to intervene, if necessary.

5. As a result of a great deal of discussion a kind of compromise formula based on the third proposal mentioned above was evolved. But, as is usual with the compromise formula, it is criticized from various points of view. It seems desirable that the Cabinet should consider this matter and that members of Cabinet should speak with some kind of a united voice in the Assembly on this subject. I, therefore, suggest that this be put up for consideration of the Cabinet at the next meeting to be held on the 13th August.

10. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
August 11, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I enclose letters² addressed to Attlee and Aneurin Bevan.³ Could you kindly send them on? Copies for your office file are also attached.

I have received two letters from you, both relating to matters before the Constituent Assembly. The citizenship note has reached me as the matter is actually being discussed in the Constituent Assembly. Indeed it has probably been passed by now. You will see that what we have been concerned with has been to find some kind of a formula to define those who are citizens on the day that the Republic comes into existence. The subsequent law will have to be framed by the Parliament.

About other matters, more specially about the name 'India', I can well understand your anxiety and I share it. It is hardly necessary for you to convince me on this subject. But we have to deal with an adolescent and rather intractable state of mind and I just do not know what final decisions might be taken. I imagine, however, that in any event 'India' will remain for official use whenever any foreign language is used. But probably they will give an alternative name too.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Not printed.
3. Aneurin Bevan (1897-1960); British politician; Labour M.P., 1929-60; Minister of Health, 1945-51, and of Labour and National Service, 1951; creator of the National Health Service, Britain; author of *In Place of Fear* (1952); a good friend of India.

11. To A.V. Thakkar¹

New Delhi
August 11, 1949

My dear Thakkar Bapa,

I have received a memorandum on behalf of the Christian members of the Constituent Assembly, including our Health Minister and the Vice-President of

1. File No.16(37)/49-PMS.

the Assembly Dr H.C. Mukerjee, protesting against your amendments No. 3237, 3714 and 3718. I enclose a copy of this memorandum.²

I am concerned about this matter as anything which appears to be a differentiation on the basis of religion might well be described as against the spirit of our Constitution. Apart from this, the mere fact that all the Christian representatives in the Assembly oppose a certain provision or amendment is in itself enough to make us pause and think twice before proceeding with that change. A heavy responsibility rests upon the majority community in this matter.

The word "tribal religion" also appears to me to be singularly vague and likely to give rise to considerable controversy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Christian members of the Constituent Assembly in their memorandum had stated that A.V. Thakkar's amendment meant to restrict application of the ameliorative measures intended for the Adivasis of Bihar to those Adivasis "as profess tribal religion," implied that a large number of Adivasis who were Christians would be deprived of the assistance which was given to Adivasis everywhere. If the amendment was accepted, it would be regarded as an attempt not only to deny Christians economic and social assistance, but to separate them from their non-Christian kinsmen as well.

12. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
August 11, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just received your letter of 9th August about incorporating in the new Constitution various decisions relating to privy purse payments and guarantees in respect of rights and privileges of the rulers, etc.²

I do not think there was any desire on the part of the Cabinet to upset any undertaking given on behalf of Government. The Cabinet was, however, a little surprised and taken aback by the fact that these privy purse payments, free of income

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 601-602.
2. Patel expressed his distress at the decision taken by the Cabinet on 6 August 1949 relating to the amendments proposed for incorporation in the new Constitution in regard to the privy purse payments, guarantees in respect of rights and privileges given to the Princes and the entries relating to the Indian State Force in the Legislative List. He wanted the Cabinet to reconsider these matters.

tax, were for perpetuity. I confess that I had not realized this fact of perpetuity before. I am not sure in my own mind if any government is capable of guaranteeing any payment in perpetuity. I doubt if this kind of thing has been done elsewhere except, perhaps, very rarely. It does not seem to me realistic because it is hardly possible, even through a constitution, to tie down the future in this way.

Nevertheless, because of the assurances given by the Government, we have to abide by them, whatever the future might do.³ The practical aspect of this was that an inclusion of this long list of payments, free of tax and for perpetuity, in the Constitution would undoubtedly give rise to long and bitter debate in the Party and in the Assembly. Public attention will be drawn to it in India and abroad. Whatever the ultimate results of voting, this debate will not be good from the point of view of either the Government or the Princes. The Princes would probably be bitterly criticized and they will feel that their position in regard to these guarantees was not very secure in spite of the Constitution containing them. Looking at the temper of the Party, I am rather doubtful if they would pass them as such. If they pass them it would be by a fairly narrow majority.

The alternative is a specific article in the Constitution guaranteeing payment etc., of all obligations entered into by the Government in regard to the Princes, etc.⁴ Without giving a list of all these, I think that this course would very largely meet your point of view and certainly it will be accepted as a fulfilment of our present duty to the Princes. It would avoid that particular publicity and bitter debate which a full list is sure to cause.

I have discussed this matter with a number of leading members of the Constituent Assembly and all of them felt that giving a full list in the Constitution would make matters very difficult.

Anyhow we shall certainly discuss this matter fully in the Cabinet and with Rajaji who, I understand, has had a talk with you. We shall not come to any final

3. Patel asked why his Cabinet colleagues, "should shirk the responsibility which devolves on them to ensure that all these agreements and arrangements are fully honoured not only by ourselves but by successor Governments and that they should regard a constitutional guarantee in regard to the continuance of privy purse as being unpopular in the Assembly." He maintained that privy purses fixed was much less than the State revenues, that these payments were an "insignificant price to pay for the consolidation and unity of India"; that these commitments were approved by the Head of the State and the Cabinet and that their rights and privileges conceded to the Princes should be honoured as a "moral obligation."
4. Patel held that the rulers had merged their States when they were obliged to accede only for three subjects and had had a "capacity for mischief" and argued that the constitutional guarantee "is the only thing that can provide some sort of a safeguard for the Princes", and the only way whereby the Indian Government would not be "charged with breach of faith."

decision without reference to you. I do not want you to interrupt your rest and treatment and rush back to Delhi for this matter. We shall hold it up for the present and meanwhile will communicate with you.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

13. On Citizenship Rights¹

Sir, I wish to support the proposals made by Dr Ambedkar² as well as the amendment which Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar³ has proposed. All these articles relating to citizenship have probably received far more thought and consideration during the last few months than any other article contained in this Constitution.

Now, these difficulties have arisen from two factors. One was of course the partition of the country. The other was the presence of a large number of Indians abroad, and it was difficult to decide about these Indians whether they should be considered as our citizens or not, and ultimately these articles were drafted with a view to providing for these two difficulties. Personally I think that the provision made has been on the whole very satisfactory. Inevitably no provision could be made, which provided for every possibility and provided for every case with justice and without any error being committed. We have millions of people in foreign parts and other countries. Some of those may be taken to be foreign nationals, although they are Indians in origin. Others still consider themselves to some extent

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly, 12 August 1949, *Constituent Assembly Debates, Official Report*, Vol. IX, 30 July 1949 to 18 September 1949, pp. 398-401.
2. The citizenship clause as contained in Articles 5 and 6 of the Draft Constitution and amended by Ambedkar proposed: "at the date of commencement of this Constitution, every person who has his domicile in the territory in India and—a) who was born in the territory of India; or b) either or whose parents was born in the territory of India; or who has been ordinarily resident in the territory of India for not less than five years immediately preceding the date of such commencement shall be a citizen of India, provided that he has not voluntarily acquired the citizenship of any foreign state." It also dealt with the rights of citizenship of those who had migrated to India from Pakistan and denied citizenship rights to those who had migrated from India to Pakistan after 1 March 1949.
3. Ayyangar's amendment provided for rights of citizenship to those who had returned to India from Pakistan on permanent permits.

as Indians and yet they have also got some kind of local nationality too, like for instance, in Malaya, Singapore, Fiji and Mauritius. If you deprive them of their local nationality, they become aliens there. So, all these difficulties arise and you will see that in this resolution we have tried to provide for them for the time being, leaving the choice to them and also leaving it to our Consul Generals there to register their names. It is not automatic. Our representatives can, if they know the applicants to be qualified for Indian citizenship, register their names.

Now I find that most of the arguments have taken place in regard to people who are the victims in some way or other of partition. I do not think it is possible for you to draft anything, whatever meticulous care you might exercise, which could fit in with a very difficult and complicated situation that has arisen, namely the partition. One has inevitably to do something which involves the greatest amount of justice to our people and which is the most practical solution of the problem. You cannot in any such provision lay down more or less whom you like and whom you dislike; you have to lay down certain principles, but any principle that you may lay down is likely not to fit in with a number of cases. It cannot be helped in any event. Therefore you see that the principle fixed fits with a vast majority of cases, even though a very small number does not wholly fit in, and there may be some kind of difficulty in dealing with them. I think the drafters of these proposals have succeeded in a remarkable measure in producing something which really deals with 99 per cent of cases with justice and practical commonsense; may be some people may not come in. As a matter of fact even in dealing with naturalization proceedings, it is very difficult to be dead sure about each individual and you may or you may not be taking all of them. But the chief objection, so far as I can see, has been to the amendment that Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar has moved to the effect that people who have returned here permanently and in possession of permanent permits shall be deemed to be citizens of India. They are rejected and presumably their presence is objected to because it is thought that they might take possession of some evacuee property which is thus far being considered as an evacuee property and thereby lessen the share of our refugees or displaced persons, who would otherwise take possession of it.

Now, I think there is a great deal of misunderstanding about this matter. Our general rule as you will see in regard to these partition consequences, is that we accept practically without demur or enquiry that great wave of migration which came from Pakistan to India. We accept them as citizens up to some time in July 1948.⁴ It is possible, of course that in the course of that year many wrong persons came over, whom we might not accept as citizens if we examine each one of them; but it is impossible to examine hundreds of thousands of such cases and we accept

4. Under the Constitution, an immigrant from Pakistan became a citizen of India if he or either of his parents or grandparents was born in undivided India and had either migrated to India before 19 July 1948 or had been registered as an Indian citizen after that date.

the whole lot. After July 1948, that is about a year ago, we put in some kind of enquiry and a magistrate who normally has *prima facie* evidence will register them; otherwise he will enquire further and ultimately not register or he will reject. Now all these rules naturally apply to Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs or Christians or anybody else. You cannot have rules for Hindus, for Muslims or for Christians only. It is absurd on the face of it; but in effect we say that we allow the first year's migration and obviously that huge migration was a migration of Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan. The others hardly come into the picture at all. It is possible that later, because of this permit system, some non-Hindus and non-Sikhs came in. How did they come in? How many came in? There are three types of permits, I am told. One is purely a temporary permit for a month or two, and whatever the period may be, a man comes and he has got to go back during that period. This does not come into the picture. The other type is a permit, not permanent but something like a permanent permit, which does not entitle a man to settle here, but entitles him to come here repeatedly on business. He comes and goes and he has a continuing permit. I may say that too does not come into the picture. The third type of permit is a permit given to a person to come here for permanent stay, that is return to India and settle down here.

Now, in the case of all these permits a great deal of care has been taken in the past before issuing them. In the case of these permits which are meant for permanent return to India and settling here again, a very great deal of care has been taken. The local officials of the place where the man came from and where he wants to go back are addressed; the local government is addressed, and it is only when sufficient reason is found by the local officials and the local government that our High Commissioner in Karachi or Lahore, as the case may be, issues that kind of permit.

I have not got the numbers with me but just before I came here, I asked Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar; he did not know the exact figures and very roughly it may be 2,000 or 3,000.

Now, normally speaking these permits are issued to two types of persons. Of course, there may be others but generally the types of persons to whom these are given are these. One is usually when a family has been split up, when a part of the family has always remained here, a bit of it has gone away, the husband has remained here but has sent his wife and children away because of trouble, etc.; he thought it safer or whatever the reason, he continued to stay here while his wife and children want to come back, we have allowed them to come back where it is established that they will remain here throughout. Normally it is applied to cases of families being split up when we felt assured that the family has been here and have no intention of going away and owing to some extraordinary circumstances, a bit of that family went away and has wanted to come back. It is more or less such general principles which have been examined and the local Government and the local officials have recommended that this should be done and it has been done.

That is the main case. Then there are a number of cases of those people whom you might call the Nationalist Muslims, those people who had absolutely no desire to go away but who were simply pushed out by circumstances, who were driven out by circumstances and who having gone to the other side saw that they had no place there at all, because the other side, did not like them at all; they considered them as opponents and enemies and made their lives miserable for them and right through from the beginning they expressed a desire to come back and some of them have come back.

My point is that the number of cases involved, considering everything, is an insignificant number, a small number. Each individual case, each single case has been examined by the local officials of the place where the man hails from; the local government, having examined, have come to a certain decision and allowed that permit to be given. Now, it just does not very much matter whether you pass this clause or not. Government having come to a decision, any person after he has returned, he is here; and having come here, he gets such rights and privileges, and all these naturally flow as a consequence of that Government's decision. It is merely clarifying matters. It does not make any rule. Suppose a question arose in regard to a very little or an insignificant property, not only because of the principles involved; but also because a certain family or a part of a family was split up but otherwise here held on to the property, so that the family that comes back came to the property which is being held by the other members of the family, and no new property is involved, it is infinitesimal. It makes no great difference to anybody. From a person coming here after full enquiry and permission by the Government, after getting a permit, etc., certain consequences flow even in regard to property. If these consequences flow, if he is entitled to certain property, it is because he is a citizen of India and the local Government has decided, whether it is the East Punjab Government or the Delhi Government or the U.P. Government, do not stop them by not having this amendment or by having it. You can stop them, of course, by passing a law as a sovereign assembly. It is open to you to do that; but it does not follow from this. I would beg of you to consider how in a case like this, where after due enquiry the Government considers that justice demands, that the rules and conventions demand, that certain steps should be taken in regard to an individual, I do not myself see how—without upsetting every canon of justice and equity, you can go behind that. You may, of course, challenge a particular case, go into it and show that the decision is wrong and upset it, but you cannot attack it on some kind of principle.

One word has been thrown about a lot. I should like to register my strong protest against that word. I want the House to examine the word carefully and it is that this Government goes in for a policy of appeasement, appeasement of Pakistan, appeasement of Muslims, appeasement of this and that. I want to know clearly what that word means. Do the honourable Members who talk of appeasement think that some kind of rule should be applied when dealing with these people which

has nothing to do with justice or equity? I want a clear answer to that. If so, I would only plead for appeasement. This Government will not go by a hair's breadth to the right or to the left from what they consider to be the right way of dealing with the situation, justice to the individual or the group.

Another word is thrown up a good deal, this secular State business. May I beg with all humility those gentlemen who use this word often to consult some dictionary before they use it? It is brought in at every conceivable step and at every conceivable stage. I just do not understand it. It has a great deal of importance, no doubt. But, it is brought in all contexts, as if by saying that we are a secular State we have done something amazingly generous, given something out of our pocket to the rest of the world, something which we ought not to have done, so on and so forth. We have only done something which every country does except a very few misguided and backward countries in the world. Let us not refer to that word in the sense that we have done something very mighty.

I do not just understand how anybody possibly argues against the amendment that Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar has brought forward. To argue against that amendment is to argue definitely for injustice, definitely for discrimination, for not doing something which after full enquiry has been found to be rightly done, and for doing something which from the practical point of view of numbers or property, has no consequence. It is just dust in the pan. In order to satisfy yourself about that little thing, because your sense of property is so keen, because your vested interest is so keen that you do not wish one-millionth part of a certain aggregation of property to go outside the pool, or because of some other reason, you wish to upset the rule which we have tried to base on certain principles, on a certain sense of equity and justice. It will not be a good thing. I appeal to the House to consider that whether you pass this amendment of Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar or not, the fact remains that this policy of the Government has to be pursued and there is no way out without upsetting every assurance and every obligation on the part of the Government, every permit that has been issued, has been issued after due enquiry. Again, so far as this matter is concerned, please remember that the whole permit system was started sometime in July 1948, that is to say after large-scale migration was over completely. To that period, from July 1948 uptil now, this amendment refers to in a particular way, that is to say, it refers to them in the sense that each person will have to go to a District Magistrate or some like official and register himself. He cannot automatically become a citizen. He has to go there and produce some kind of *prima facie* proof, etc., so that there is a further sitting. He has to pass through another sieve. If he passes, well and good; if not, he can be rejected even at this stage. The proposals put forward before the House in Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar's amendment are eminently just and right and meet a very complicated situation in as practical a way as possible.

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

1. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
July 11, 1949

My dear Sachar,

I am in receipt of your letter of 9 July regarding the demands of the Sikhs about representation in the services and the language question.² We shall consider what you have written.

Meanwhile, I should like to draw your attention to the rule that I had laid down in my previous letter, namely, "that every child is entitled to primary education in his or her mother tongue, wherever he or she may be, provided there are a sufficient number of children of that type to make arrangements feasible." This obviously includes the script. Thus, even if you make some kind of a linguistic division of the province, facilities for carrying on primary education in the script and language of the parents' choice must be available in either area.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 9, p. 145.
2. In his letter of 9 July 1949, Sachar suggested that the Government should agree to recognition of Punjabi in Gurmukhi script; that East Punjab be divided into two distinct regions on a linguistic basis; that Punjabi be the medium of instruction in the Punjabi-speaking region of the province and Hindi in the other upto the fifth class with Punjabi and Hindi as second languages in two areas; and continuance of English and Urdu as official and court languages.

2. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
July 21, 1949

My dear Sachar,

You have sent me your recommendations for the solution of the language controversy in East Punjab.² I should like to point out that the Central Government can only consider your reference if and when they are convinced that the parties

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol.9, p.150.
2. See the preceding item.

concerned agree to refer this matter to the decision of the Central Government. We cannot consider it on a one-sided reference. This will simply involve us in trouble later, when some people might repudiate what we decide.

I should like you to expedite sending your recommendation in regard to the services. We should like to deal with both these controversial issues together and not piecemeal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
July 21, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 17 July about Tara Singh.²

About the language controversy, I agree with you that there is no point in our considering the reference made to us, till we know that the parties concerned agree to it.

On the merits, I do not know if any particular expert examination is necessary to get at the facts. These facts are fairly well known and anyway they can be augmented by reference to Trivedi or others.

I think the safest way to consider this question is on the basis of some principles which we wish to apply to all India. Without any basic principles, we are apt to go astray. Lari proposed an amendment³ on the language question in the Constituent Assembly. This was not accepted by Ambedkar, but he assured him that we agreed with it and that we would act up to it. I have not the wording with me, but I think that amendment was a good one.

Recently in Calcutta I heard from the West Bengal Government that they have made a rule somewhat to the following effect. That every child had a right to

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 9, pp. 148-150.
2. Patel wrote that Tara Singh was insistent on his demands on the language question and "it was quite clear that he wanted Punjab for the Sikhs and was prepared to use compulsion on the question of language."
3. In December 1948 Zahirul Hasnain Lari had proposed an amendment to Article 23 of the Constitution that any minority, having a distinct language and script, should be entitled to have primary education in that language and script, subject to a substantial number of such students being available. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, pp. 166-167.

receive both primary and secondary education in his or her mother tongue, provided there were a sufficient number of such children and this was feasible. For non-Bengali children Bengali was to be a compulsory subject after a certain stage. It seemed to me that this was a correct approach and in line with what the Congress had often said.

Suppose, therefore, we say that each child is entitled to receive primary and secondary education in its mother tongue provided that sufficient numbers demand it in a particular area. Naturally it will be for the parents to say what the mother tongue is. For this purpose the languages recognized should be all the official provincial languages as well as, of course, Hindi and Urdu. The official language of the province concerned should be a compulsory language after a certain stage, whatever that may be. In the secondary stage it would be desirable to have a foreign language also taught, but we need not go into that now.

What I have written above is badly drafted, but I hope the idea is clear. If we have some such principles, it would go a long way in removing provincial jealousies in regard to language and it would be a fair decision on principles.

Apply this to Punjab. Let us agree, as suggested by Trivedi, Sachar, etc., that there are two more or less definitely marked linguistic areas in East Punjab—Hindi and Punjabi. Let us say that each of these has the primary language for its own area and normally primary schools would be run in that language. By applying the principle stated above, it would be open to those who consider Hindi their language to ask for primary education in Hindi in the Punjabi area and *vice versa*.

So far as the courts are concerned, both Punjabi and Hindi should be equally recognized as official languages. As a matter of fact Urdu is far better known in East Punjab even now than either Hindi or Punjabi and nearly all the work has been carried on in Urdu except for the superior courts.

My suggestion above would of course not meet with the approval of Tara Singh. But that can hardly be helped. What he says in his interview⁴ amounts to compelling and coercing people to learn Punjabi whether they want to learn or not. That would be against all the principles that we stand for and would be totally unreasonable.

We may talk about teaching in Punjabi in the primary stage. That is easy. We may even extend it to the secondary stage, though that would be a little more difficult. But it is manifestly impossible, because of the immaturity of Punjabi, to use it in a higher stage.

4. In an interview with the Punjab M.L.As. Ishwar Singh Mujahil and Col. Raghubir Singh of Patiala on 27 June 1949 in Almora jail, Master Tara Singh said that the situation in the Punjab could be saved if the Punjabi dialect was enforced in the Punjab, seats were reserved for Sikhs as a minority community and seats in government service were reserved for Sikhs by percentage.

I am writing to Bhimsen Sachar about the recommendation for the services.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
July 22, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Giani Kartar Singh came to see me this morning together with three other Sikhs. He talked to me about the reference made to us on the language issue in the East Punjab. I asked him as to who had made the reference apart from the East Punjab Government. I told him that there is no point in our considering the reference unless we knew that the parties concerned would abide by our decision. He said that the Government and Assembly party, including all the Sikhs, had made the reference and would be bound by our decision on the language issue.

I said that it would be better for us to consider both the language and the services issues together. In reply he said that even the Sikh M.L.As. were not of one opinion on the services question, as they were in regard to the language question. It was possible that the services issue might be decided in the Punjab.

He added that after a long discussion an agreement had been arrived at on the language issue between the Hindu and the Sikh Ministers and the Governor agreed. This agreement was on the following points:

1. Punjabi means that the language should be written in Gurmukhi script.
2. That two linguistic areas should be recognized in East Punjab.
3. In the Punjabi area Punjabi should be compulsory from the first to the fifth standard, in the Hindi area Hindi would be compulsory for these standards.
4. From the fourth standard upwards the other language, Hindi or Punjabi, should be compulsory.

In regard to one point there was no agreement yet. This was about the delimitation of linguistic areas. More especially it related to the hill region, the *pahari ilaqa*. Should Punjabi or Hindi be the basic language? There was difference of opinion on this.

He pointed out that some of the areas, which were originally Hindi-speaking, had now a large number of Punjabi-speaking people who had come after the

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 9, pp.153-155.

partition. This had taken place in Kangra district and three *tehsils* of Ambala. So now these areas, which were originally Hindi areas, should be considered as Punjabi areas, according to the Sikhs.

Another point on which there was disagreement between the Hindu and the Sikh Ministers was about option to be exercised in regard to language. Hindus wanted option, the Sikhs did not. It is these points which had not been resolved by agreement, which had been referred to us.

I told him what my general views on the question were without finally committing myself about anything. But I made it clear that our general policy was against compulsion and our other provinces were following or trying to follow this policy, which meant that option was given in regard to choice of the mother tongue.

I further pointed out that our regional languages like Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, etc. were also well developed languages and it was probable that a great deal of the education, including university education, would take place in these languages in their respective areas. How far was Punjabi suited for any type of higher education? He confessed that it was not and all they could think of for the present was that Punjabi should be used up to matriculation. I said that this meant that the student after matriculation would be at a great disadvantage unless he or she knew thoroughly the language which was going to be the medium of instruction later.

I further pointed out to him that it was no service to a language to introduce the element of compulsion, which would be resented and which would thus lead to continuous conflict and the language, and more especially Punjabi, would suffer in the conflict. It would have a much better chance of growing if there was no compulsion and yet it was officially recognized and, if necessary, even linguistic areas defined with option given.

Giani Kartar Singh's answers were not very satisfying. All he could say was that there was a great deal of feeling behind the Sikh demand, and in fact that there was unanimity. He said that there should be an early decision as education was suffering by delay. I told him that we would like an early decision ourselves if all the facts were placed before us. He added that before deciding we should give every opportunity for the parties to be heard.

I think we should take this matter in hand fairly soon. Some facts have to be obtained about the linguistic divisions of the province, etc. We should also know more definitely the capacity of modern Punjabi as an educational medium.

But apart from facts, the issue is quite clear and I do not think it is capable of too many varieties of answer. If the Punjabis want two linguistic divisions, they might have them. But I just do not see how we can do away with the option of a parent to decide which shall be the mother tongue. For the present we need only

think in terms of primary education, though the secondary stages will also have to be considered sometime or other.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. To Kailas Nath Katju¹

New Delhi
August 7, 1949

My dear Kailas Nath,²

I have seen your letter of the 2nd August addressed to Rajaji.

On the language question I might tell you that I should like very much indeed for a decision to be postponed for ten years. But this is just what people object to and the Constituent Assembly will never agree to such a postponement. What am I to do about it?

I generally agree with your other suggestions except that I do not think we can go as far as you suggest with Sanskrit. Certainly let us go ahead with Sanskrit, but a little cautiously. Otherwise there will be trouble, difficulty and too great a burden on the young student.

I have suggested to Dr B.C. Roy to come to Delhi before he goes to Calcutta.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Kailas Nath Katju was Governor of West Bengal at this time.

6. To the Secretary, Nikhil Bharat Banga Bhasha Prosar Samity¹

New Delhi
August 8, 1949

Dear Sir,²

I have your letter of the 1st August.³

The question of language is before the Constituent Assembly and I am not in a position to lay down what the Constituent Assembly will decide. But it has always been our policy to give full support and encouragement to the great provincial languages of India. Apart from being the languages of the province concerned, I presume they will be recognized for all-India purposes also in so far as presentation of documents, etc. is concerned. I do not myself see why anyone who wishes to speak in Bengali or Marathi in the Central Parliament should not be allowed to do so.

The real question is about the records of Parliament being kept. They cannot be kept, without extreme and unnecessary expense, in a variety of scripts and languages. Thus governmental work at the Centre must necessarily be carried on mostly in one language, though, of course, a number of other languages are also officially recognized in India.

In regard to some other matters referred to by you, I would draw your attention to a recent resolution⁴ of the Congress Working Committee on the subject of language.

Yours faithfully,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. The Samity, founded in February 1938 for the propagation of Bengali among the people of other linguistic areas, had over thirty branches all over India.
2. Jyotish Chandra Ghosh (1887-1974); writer; Secretary, Nikhil Bharat Banga Bhasha Prosar Samity, 1938-74; founder, Bhavanipur Sahitya Samity, Calcutta; author of several books on Indian languages and Indology.
3. In his letter, which was also addressed to Abul Kalam Azad, Ghosh wrote about constitutional provisions with regard to medium of instruction for linguistic minorities in different provinces and use of regional languages for official purposes.
4. The resolution of 5 August 1949 laid down that (1) there be a State language for all-India purposes in which the business of the Union would be conducted, (2) the language of the State or province be used for purposes of administration as well as university education, (3) mother tongue be the medium of instruction at the primary school level, (4) an all-India language be studied as a second language at the secondary school level and (5) English be used for fifteen years for administrative purposes during the period of transition.

7. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi

August 11, 1949

My dear Amrit,

It seems to me that in the language controversy we should proceed now on the basis of accepting Hindi and Devanagari. An attempt to put in Hindustani instead of Hindi will have little support and will probably come in the way of other changes that might be brought about. I suggested that we might put an explanation somewhat to the following effect: "Hindi will include allied forms and styles such as Hindustani and Urdu." This is just an indication. The wording might be improved. If some such thing was put in, it would go a long way to meet our point of view. I think most people are agreeable to this, though some people object strongly to the mention of Urdu.

As regards English, the period might well be 15 years as suggested both by the Working Committee and by the Madras people. I think, however, that the Madras amendment² goes much too far when it says that absolutely no change should take place for 15 years. This is impracticable and undesirable. On the other hand it is true that changes now or soon might make it difficult for people who do not know Hindi to function in the Secretariat. I think that some provision should be made to avoid this difficulty. In reality this difficulty will hardly arise as all of us are so used to English that we would take a mighty long time to change.

I suggest that you might discuss this matter with Rajaji, who is very much interested and who can help in evolving suitable formulae.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 33(26)/48-PMS. Also available in J.N. Collection.
2. On 12 August 1949, this was suggested by the members from Madras at a discussion on the draft Constitution in the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

I. Civil Services and Appointments

1. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

There is one matter which has been troubling me for sometime past. I think I mentioned it to you once. This is in regard to increments on promotion in our services. Promotion has been very rapid because of lack of personnel and vacancies created by people leaving the services or going away to Pakistan, etc. Would it not be possible to lay down as a rule that in future, on promotion, normal increment in salary will not be granted, but only a portion of it, say one-third? This is exactly what Pakistan has done.

This should be no burden on any person because, in any event, he will be getting more on promotion, apart from the higher status and responsibility. This was even suggested to me by some senior member of the service who actually went further and said that for a specified period no increment should be given on promotion.

I should like you to consider this matter. I am sure this will have a good public reaction.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1949

My dear Rafi,

Your letter of the 26th June. I am afraid you set about the business in the wrong way. You talk about corruption and spend a lot of time over relatively unimportant matters, thereby possibly missing the major things. There is a certain priority and a certain degree of importance about matters, and there is also a certain restraint in a minister in referring to such matters.

I have no knowledge of the person you referred to in your letter. He may be desirable or undesirable. He may have committed errors and made wrong statements

1. J.N. Collection.

in the past. If these are grave enough, one should take necessary steps, although it is a difficult matter, as you know, to deal with a judge of the High Court. It is at the time of appointment, when one should consider all these matters. Once the appointment is made, the only procedure that can be followed is an extraordinarily cumbrous and complicated one, which may do more injury than good to the public cause.

There are few people, I suppose, who can afford to have all the cupboards of their past life laid bare. Therefore in dealing with such matters one has to choose important matters and take them up and go through with them. Otherwise there is danger of our losing ourselves in a forest of small matters. What has happened today is that we deal with a fair number of cases of corruption on a small scale and sometimes get them convicted. The big merchants and industrialists seldom get caught and even once they are caught and proceeded against, they have enough money to engage expensive lawyers to drag on proceedings and to evade the law. Our object is surely to clean up public work and to raise public standards. Everything has to be judged from that point of view. I find that sometimes in the name of cleaning up public work, matters are made much worse.

I think it is completely unfair of you to say that all your attempts to eradicate corruption would prove fruitless. I have not come in your way and every matter that has been referred to me has been enquired into at length. I suppose every department of Government has plenty of corruption. So is the Posts and Telegraphs Department, according to complaints made. Nobody can come in your way to clear that up completely. You have tried to do that with some success. Yet much remains.

I think it is a wrong practice as a rule to interfere in other people's work, unless there is very special reason for it. We make a person responsible for his work and trust his judgement.

In a recent issue of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*,² a speech of yours has been reported in which you referred to Lord Mountbatten's note when he left office.³ I do not think you should have referred to a secret document like this, nor do I think it is appropriate for a minister to talk about incapable and inefficient ministers, who, presumably are his colleagues. There are other ways of dealing with a situation than of public reference to one's own colleagues.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 24 June 1949.

3. In a public speech at Jhansi on 21 June 1949 Kidwai mentioned a note of Mountbatten written to Nehru suggesting a periodical overhaul in the Central and provincial Cabinets on the model of Britain and other western democratic countries. Mountbatten had added that those ministers who proved to be incapable and inefficient should be replaced.

3. Simultaneous Absence of Ministers and Secretaries¹

On several occasions recently it has been found that both the Hon'ble Minister and the Secretary of the Ministry have been absent on tour at the same time. Important matters have arisen for quick decision and I have made a reference to the Ministry, only to be told that neither the Minister nor the Secretary is in Delhi. This seems to me to be an unwise practice. I have been informed that previously there was a rule that if the Hon'ble Minister was away, the Secretary should remain at headquarters. The absence of both at the same time greatly prejudices important work. Nowadays, when we live in a constant state of some kind of crisis, it is all the more necessary that either the Minister or the Secretary remained at headquarters. I would, therefore, request that this rule be followed.

1. Note to all Central Ministers, 9 July 1949. File No. 2(223)/48-PMS.

4. To Vimla Gope-Gurbax¹

New Delhi
July 11, 1949

Dear Vimla Rani,²

I do not quite know what kind of service you are suggesting in your letter to me dated 29th June. Normally, appointments are made through the Federal Service Commission. I do not make any appointments. If you like, you or your husband can approach the Federal Service Commission.

But I am more and more inclined to think that competent people can and should serve the country in capacities other than those of government service. There is a great deal of room for them and there are few really competent workers. If you and your husband are doing this work already, then it is an important work.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. She was associated with Sarvodaya Samaj, Bikaner.

Certainly you can see me, but for the next three or four weeks I am terribly busy. After that if you come, I shall see you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The Federal Public Service Commission¹

I agree generally with the proposals of the Home Ministry. The preparation of a list of prospective candidates hardly requires Cabinet sanction. Nor do I understand what the Federal Public Service Commission mean by saying that this is a responsibility of the Commission which they will not be prepared to delegate to any other authority. Any Ministry or any individual can make a list. The Commission really comes in the final selection and actual appointment. It is desirable that the Commission should be charged with this task. As for interviews, I would say that no one should be appointed without a personal interview, whatever his qualifications might be. In the case of overseas candidates, it is far too expensive to call them to India for interviews. The Commission could easily appoint a high-level Selection Board in London or New York or any other place and this Board could do the interviewing and report to the Commission. The final decision would be that of the Commission. It cannot be said that we are unable to have a high-level Selection Board outside India. In selecting some foreign service candidates in London, we had the advantage of Professor Laski's cooperation and it would be difficult to find a more suitable person for this kind of work.

I take it that the interviewing only takes place when a person is to be appointed and not merely to put his name on the list. There is no point in interviewing him at an earlier stage. That would involve needless waste of time of the Commission and expense. Also a person interviewed now need not necessarily be suitable a year or two hence, as something may have happened in between, which is deserving of notice.

I do not see why applicants should be called upon to pay an application fee of Rs 7 or Rs 8 merely for the registration of their names. This is far too heavy

1. Note, 20 July 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

a charge for this purpose. It is obvious that most of the people in the list will hardly have a chance of appointment. I think a nominal fee of one rupee is quite enough for all.

While the Commission will keep the authorised list of persons with technical and specialist qualifications, it is quite open to any Ministry to keep their own list for purpose of reference. This list, however, will not be prepared by advertisement, etc., as in the case of the authorised list. The matter should be put up before the Cabinet.

6. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
August 7, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th August about Ramaswami Mudaliar. I have no objection to Ramaswami Mudaliar going to the United Nations. But our experience on the last occasion,² when we sent him to the U.N. for Hyderabad, was most unsatisfactory. We came to the conclusion that he was not to be relied upon. It is difficult to give any responsible post to such a person. The experience of Mysore lately has also been of this kind.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Rajendra Prasad Papers, N.A.I.

2. In September 1948.

3. Ramaswami Mudaliar was Dewan of Mysore State from August 1946 to August 1949.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

II. Security

1. Security of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister¹

I have repeatedly raised the question of security measures taken presumably to protect me as well as the Deputy Prime Minister. The need for some such measures is admitted, but the extent of them has often been criticized and I have, on many occasions, requested that there should be a marked reduction in the number of people employed for this purpose.

2. There was once, some months ago, some reduction. Even so the numbers employed seem to be very considerable. I think this matter must be gone into immediately again. It might be appreciated that security is not a question of numbers but of intelligent use of some trained people. It is no good replacing intelligence by numbers. These numbers are not only harassing to the person supposed to be protected, but are a waste of public money.

3. These measures involve:

- (a) People employed in my house.
- (b) Persons accompanying me in Delhi.
- (c) Persons accompanying me when I go out of Delhi.
- (d) Occasional lining up of routes, as for instance when I go to Palam.
- (e) Measures taken in other places outside Delhi when I go there.

4. All these require checking and strict limitation. There are too many people in my house and outside it. Even when I come to my office, I find quite a number of people hovering about and later sitting in my Secretary's room or in corridors. I just do not see the necessity for this. When going to Palam the route is lined and presumably over a hundred people are employed for this purpose. This is completely unnecessary. In fact this business of lining routes, etc. is actually opposed to any intelligent application of security as it attracts a lot of attention.

5. I went to Dehra Dun for the week-end. It was not necessary for three police officers apart from orderlies to accompany me or to be present in Dehra Dun.

6. I arrived at Saharanpur and motored to Dehra Dun. I found two police trucks accompanying me, one going ahead and one behind my car. This also seems to me completely unnecessary. At the most one police car can accompany me whenever I go elsewhere.

7. I do not know whether the Delhi Police has got more officers and men than it can use otherwise, but there is certainly a waste of them and thus a waste not

1. Note to H.V.R. Iengar, Home Secretary, 27 June 1949. J.N. Collection.

only of human material but of public money in using so many of them for private protection. The public does not know all this. If it did, there would be a hue and cry and questions in the Assembly.

8. I shall be grateful, therefore, if this matter is attended to soon.

2. Security of the Prime Minister¹

I have repeatedly expressed my dissatisfaction with the security arrangements that are made in my house or when I travel. Apparently my observations have no effect at all on those who make these arrangements. I suggest that these gentlemen might be reminded of the fact that I still happen to be Prime Minister of India and I expect my orders to be obeyed. I do not propose to tolerate the fantastic waste of public money and energy in the way security arrangements are made.

To line up policemen or troops from Palam to my house, whenever I go, is a sign of extreme lack of intelligence, which has no effect on anybody's security. To have a group of people accompanying me wherever I go is also not a measure of security, but of drawing attention to me. I want immediate action to be taken in these matters and a revised set of security rules submitted to me. These will apply to Delhi as well as to my visits to other provinces. During these visits I have found far too many policemen in cars and trucks accompanying me, as if I was leading a reconnaissance force against some enemy.

I have learnt today that a police officer and two constables are being sent tomorrow morning to Calcutta. This was presumably in addition to the police officer who normally accompanies me by plane. I think this was totally unnecessary and wasteful. I cannot at this stage stop these people from going by train, but no additional police officer will accompany me in the aircraft now.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 9 July 1949. J.N. Collection.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION
III. Deputations Abroad

1. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1949

My dear Matthai,

For some time past I have been issuing letters to Ministers and Heads of Departments telling them that they must refrain from sending people abroad, unless there is absolute need for it. We have got into the habit of sending a person at the slightest provocation to England or America. At any time that would be waste, but now it is next to a crime, with the dollar scarcity. I wish your Ministry will tighten up the screw in this matter. There are innumerable international conferences now and most of our staff spend their time in journeying abroad. I think we gain little by this. I know that we cannot ignore these conferences. But we need only go to the important ones and limit the personnel in delegation to the absolute minimum.

I received a shock today on learning that the Board of Administrative Services has sent for two of our men, now employed in the Washington Embassy, just for interviews in New Delhi. These people had apparently applied for the Administrative Service and in the ordinary course they were asked to come up for an interview here at the cost of many thousands of dollars. I think this is scandalous. I am enquiring further into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 15(45)/49-PMS.

2. Delegations to Conferences Abroad¹

I have repeatedly drawn the attention of Honourable Ministers to the urgent necessity for us not only to avoid unnecessary expenditure but to use foreign exchange as little as possible. I have suggested that no one should be sent abroad unless there

1. Note to all Ministers and Heads of Departments, 23 June 1949. File No. 11(30)UN-I/49, M.E.A., N.A.I. Also available in File No. 15(45)/49-PMS.

is absolute and proved necessity for it. In spite of this, large delegations still go and odd individuals are sent for trivial reasons. Some recent cases of this kind have come to me as a shock.

There are innumerable international conferences now and it is quite impossible to keep pace with them. We cannot ignore them, but there are some at least which we need not attend or at the most we can ask one of our Embassies to send a representative to keep us in touch with them. In any event we must avoid sending more people than are absolutely necessary.

I might mention that External Affairs, which have most to do with international conferences and foreign work, have reduced this travelling business to a minimum. Even for the United Nations General Assembly we sent a very small delegation.

I would beg of Honourable Ministers to pay special attention to this matter. Our economic position, more especially in regard to foreign exchange, is a very difficult one and we cannot afford to be extravagant.

3. Visits of Scientists Abroad¹

I am very much disturbed at the lengthy absences of our leading scientists from India. I recognize that they must attend some international conferences. I recognize also that they have to visit sometimes important plants, etc. in foreign countries. Nevertheless, work in India suffers very greatly by these long absences. This is quite apart from the expenses involved which have also to be considered.

2. It is with some reluctance that I have agreed to a fairly long absence from India of Dr Homi Bhabha and Dr S.S. Bhatnagar.² After fully going into the matter I felt that the work they planned to do in the United States and elsewhere was important from the atomic energy and other points of view. In regard to other scientists who are going abroad I have also drawn attention to this fact, that is that they should only go if it is considered very important to do so.

3. In regard to the proposal made by the American Ambassador, it is not clear to me how far it involves an extension of the stay of anyone of our scientists in the United States. If so, I would rule it out and they should be requested to come

1. Note to the Department of Scientific Research, 29 July 1949. File No. 17(171)/49-PMS.
2. They were away in the United States, Canada, United Kingdom and Brazil from June to October 1949.

back here for their work. If it can be fitted into their normal stay there then my objection would be lesser. The amount involved is not very considerable. I am more concerned with the time taken up. Then again it is not necessary that all our scientists who may be in America should participate in this tour. Apparently, the tour is going to be one joint tour for all those who take part in it. But the suggestion in the note is that our scientists should split up and go to different places. How far this would be possible, I do not know.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION
IV. Jallianwala Bagh

1. Jallianwala Bagh Memorial¹

This Fund was started in 1919.² A sum of rupees ten lakhs or so was collected. Much of this money was spent in acquiring the land.³ The rest was invested and the interest on it has been spent on the upkeep of the Bagh.

The appeal for the fund, issued under very eminent auspices, laid down a certain objective and purpose for such a memorial.⁴ Nothing specific was mentioned. Various proposals were made for the erection of some building or structure as a memorial in the Bagh. But the general opinion was that no building should be erected and the Bagh should be kept as an open space and a garden.

Since then it has been used principally for public meetings. The garden has not flourished, because a large public meeting rather spoils it.⁵

There has been some trouble in the past with people encroaching on the Bagh.

It is rather extraordinary that during these thirty years since this memorial was started, no legal steps have been taken to give it some kind of a permanent basis. Attempts were made on many occasions and many eminent lawyers were consulted, but something or other happened which came in the way and so nothing was done.

At a meeting of the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund Trustees, held recently in New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Sardar Patel, it was decided that we should initiate legislation at the Centre to make the Jallianwala Bagh a national trust. A Committee was appointed for this purpose. The Committee consists of Shri Motilal Setalvad, Shri K.M. Munshi, Bakshi Tek Chand, and Dr S. Kitchlew.

Bakshi Tek Chand will act as Convenor of this Committee. It is hoped that this Committee will draft a Bill for the Central Legislature. The original appeal should be consulted for the purpose of the trust. The trustees should include the present trustees plus some ex-officio persons like the Governor of East Punjab, the Premier of East Punjab, the Chief Justice of East Punjab High Court, the

1. Note, New Delhi, 24 July 1949, File No. 2(433)/49-PMS.
2. In December 1919, at the Amritsar Session of the Congress, the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Madan Mohan Malaviya and rupees one lakh were subscribed for the purpose on the spot.
3. The land was acquired at a cost of Rs 5,65,000.
4. Appeals for the fund made by Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dinshaw Petit at Bombay fetched Rs 5 lakhs while the resolution moved at Amritsar Congress proposed the erection of a suitable memorial to the victims of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 13 April 1919.
5. In 1957, Nehru, as the Chairman of the National Memorial Trust, selected a design, made by the Delhi firms T.R. Mahendra and Benjamin Polak, for the memorial. The construction began in November 1957 and was completed in early 1961. The monument, which stands 45 ft high above 18 ft deep foundations, in an ornamental pool of 120ft x 60ft with concealed lighting, was unveiled on 13 April 1961 by Rajendra Prasad.

President of the Congress, some ex-officio persons from the Centre. These are just suggestions to be considered.

Shri S.C. Mukherjee,⁶ the Assistant Secretary of the Memorial Trust Committee, has got all the available papers in this connection. Some have been lost. He will place these papers before the Committee.

It is requested that the Committee might draft the proposed Bill fairly soon and send it for the consideration of the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund Trustees.

During the riots and disturbances in 1947, some houses adjoining the Jallianwala Bagh were destroyed by fire. There is now an open space where these houses existed and a very welcome outlet to the Bagh has thus come into existence. It will be remembered that practically the only entrance to the Bagh previously was a narrow lane. For the rest the Bagh was completely surrounded by high houses. The destruction of some of these houses has opened out the Bagh and made it more accessible to the public. It is eminently desirable that this space should be kept open and not built over and that it should be added to the Bagh. An approach is being made to the East Punjab Government on this behalf. The site of the houses destroyed, being evacuee property, is presumably under the control of the Custodian of Evacuee Property. There should be no difficulty about this and the space can be handed over immediately to the Bagh Trustees, any compensation for it being settled later. It would be a graceful gesture for the East Punjab Government to arrange to give this space free to Jallianwala Bagh Trustees and compensate the Custodian directly. If, however, some payment is to be made out of the Trust's fund, this can be looked into.

6. He later on took over as Secretary of the Memorial.

2. Future of Jallianwala Bagh¹

At a meeting of the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Trust Committee held on the 17th July 1949 in New Delhi, various decisions were taken and various payments were passed. Certain decisions require immediate action to be taken up on them. These are:

1. Note on meeting of the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Trust Committee, New Delhi, 24 July 1949. File No. 2(433)/49-PMS. Extracts.

- 1) The East Punjab Government be asked to remit land revenue which has thus far been charged on the Jallianwala Bagh.
- 2) The East Punjab Government be requested to give compensation for the damage done to the Jallianwala Bagh during the 1947 riots and disturbances.
- 3) The Government of India be asked not to charge income tax on the Jallianwala Bagh. This question had been raised previously and decided against our contention by the High Court.²
- 4) Repairs to the electric connection to be immediately taken in hand.
- 5) Some buildings bordering the Jallianwala Bagh and belonging to Muslims were destroyed by fire during the riots and disturbances of 1947.

The Muslim owners went to Pakistan. This land, where the houses previously stood, is lying empty and is evacuee property, presumably in charge of the Custodian of Evacuee Properties.

It is eminently desirable that this land should be attached to the Jallianwala Bagh. From the point of view of improving the city and having a much wider opening to the Bagh than at present exists. This is desirable. This will make the Jallianwala Bagh more easily accessible. In any event no building should be made there from the municipal point of view. The East Punjab Government should therefore be requested to grant this land to the Jallianwala Bagh trustees. Whatever the future decision about evacuee land may be, this particular piece of land should be attached to the Jallianwala Bagh. It is hoped that this may be done free. But if necessary, at a later stage some compensation can be paid.

- 6) The trustees were of the opinion that a law should be passed, preferably by the Central Parliament, in regard to the Jallianwala Bagh. This law should constitute a permanent trust for this fund and for this property....

2. Nehru later felt that this matter need not be raised at this stage as it would be automatically settled if Parliament passed a bill.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION
V. Prohibition and Horse Racing

1. Prohibition and Horse Racing¹

Some matters should not take too much time. There is this business of foreign textiles also. As a matter of fact, it has some reference to the food situation, i.e. whether the quotas provided to the rural areas actually reach them, what are the difficulties in the way, etc. It may be that a solution to this may ease the food position. We will discuss it this afternoon if we have time. Obviously we have to consider the food problem and in a sense other schemes have to have a latter priority. This priority business is a very difficult one.

Talking of the refugees, during the last three or four days, the first priority in Delhi has been to provide them with some shelter. They are practically sitting in the water. We have to provide them with some housing.

But it is the food scheme that we are discussing at the moment. We should concentrate on the immediate schemes. The long-distance schemes have to go on but we may have to give some priority.

Apart from this there is the entire general approach not only in connection with food but with the economic situation as it is, and I want to discuss the economic situation for a little while. In this particular economic situation we have to avoid entirely expenditure which can be avoided and we should avoid undertaking anything which lessens our revenue, although normally we would do so.

Now a word about prohibition. We should have prohibition and some provinces have gone pretty far. Obviously I cannot suggest to them to go back, but yet it is my personal opinion that if they go about it a little slower, it would have been better for prohibition, because otherwise large loss in revenue is caused. I advised the Madras Province on these lines about seven or eight months ago but they did not accept my advice. It has nothing to do with the importance of prohibition, but doing a thing at the wrong time may make it less successful in the end than it may otherwise be. I am not discussing the merits of prohibition. At the moment I am only suggesting that the matter should be proceeded with certainty but should be carefully thought out, so that it does not affect provincial revenues.

Then take racing, horse racing. It affects two provinces, viz. Bombay and Bengal and partly also Madras and U.P., may be some other provinces also, but I do not know. This should be looked at from several points of view. The objection is not to racing as such but rather against the gambling associated with it. At the present moment horse breeding depends on racing. Previously we were not breeding horses, but today horse breeding has become a major industry in India. We have today

1. Reply to the discussion at the Provincial Premiers' Conference, New Delhi, 23 July 1949. File No. 15(51)/49-PMS. Extracts.

some very fine horses in the world. It shows the importance of breeding. Now we do not need horses for racing, but we need them for defence and other purposes and the Army authorities are pressing upon us that we must encourage horse breeding. If horses are not available, they will have to purchase mules and donkeys at fantastic prices, five hundred rupees for a donkey or something like that. Racing or not we must have horses. We cannot have horses if horse breeding is not encouraged.

Today breeding entirely depends upon racing. Even looked at from the purely political point of view, Government is so much attacked and criticized that it does not seem particularly prudent to do anything which annoys particular groups and which leads to the criticism that instead of taking interest in major matters, we are spending our time, energy and money on matters which may be desirable in themselves; but in the context of things are relatively unimportant.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION
VI. General

1. To the Premiers of Provinces¹

New Delhi

June 22, 1949

My dear Premier,

The Chief of the General Staff is issuing a letter to various Army Commands.² I enclose a copy of this letter for your information. The idea is that we should withdraw some of the Army units, now employed on internal defence duties, for training for a period of three months or so. Such a withdrawal will be in two or three phases. It is presumed that the Army will not normally be required for internal duties, except possibly at a few main centres like great cities. Of course, if necessity arises in the case of a grave emergency, the Army can always be sent for. But it is hoped that internal defence will be adequately looked after by the police, Home Guards, etc. I trust that you approve of these arrangements.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. In his letter the Chief of the General Staff said that as the Army units employed for internal defence would be withdrawn for three months from 15 July 1949, provincial governments should be asked to make alternate arrangements with local police and quasi-military organizations to undertake these responsibilities in the said period.

2. Navigation in Ganga and Ghaghra¹

With reference to the attached papers on river navigation, you might inform both the Ministry of Industry and Supply and the Ministry of Railways and Transport that I am entirely in favour of developing river navigation, more especially, that of the Ganga and Gogra.² This is not merely to relieve the present tension on the railways, but as a permanent necessity. I have little doubt that our traffic, both passenger and freight, will progressively increase and the Railways will not be able to handle it in future, unless we go on doubling and enlarging our railway

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 24 June 1949. File No. 27(60)/48-PMS.
2. Also known as Ghaghra.

system. We should think of other methods of transport and river transport obviously offers itself. Personally I think that we should think also of other ways of land transport, apart from motor transport. The present dependence upon the railways alone is bad.

I think, therefore, that it is very desirable to investigate fully the possibilities of navigation on the Ganga and the Gogra and steps should be taken to bring this about. As a matter of fact there was navigation on the Ganga right upto Allahabad in the days of the East India Company.

3. Buildings for Schools¹

The attached papers deal with a deserving case. Could you please get in touch with the Defence Ministry and see what can be done about it? Presumably Defence want to sell off these hutments to some contractor or other. They might get some money for it, not much, not even what they asked the school to pay. All that they will get will be the cost of material. It would be a pity to waste these buildings in this way, more especially when a good school is being run there. The buildings might continue to belong to Defence and they could charge some rent from the school. If they want the building at any time for their own purpose, they could have it on a few days' notice. If some time, a year or so, is given to the school, they could build their own structure.

Rents in a village are not high. But, if necessary, the rent might be raised slightly. That would make little difference really.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 23 July 1949. File No. 7(83)/48-PMS.

4. Lawyers' Fees¹

It has come to my notice that sometimes lawyers are engaged on behalf of Government at exorbitant daily fees. In one recent case, twelve hundred rupees a day were fixed, in addition to some other payment. Whatever the case may be, and however eminent the lawyer, there is no reason why public money should be spent in this way. I trust that all ministries and departments will keep this in mind. If a very special case arises where it is considered quite essential to pay a bigger fee, this matter must be referred to the Minister and I should like information of it to be sent to me. Except for these very special cases, fees for lawyers should be normal and reasonable.

1. Note to all the Ministries and Departments, 27 July 1949. File No. 2(441)/49-PMS.

5. To K.M. Cariappa¹

New Delhi
August 15, 1949

My dear Cariappa,

Thank you very much for your letter of greetings on this day and for the renewal of the pledge on your behalf and that of the Army to serve the country. We are all bound by that pledge and I hope all of us will live up to it. Please convey my greetings and good wishes to all ranks of the Army and my high appreciation of the fine work they have done in the past.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(430)/49-PMS.

PROVINCIAL AND STATE AFFAIRS
I. Bengal

1. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
June 22, 1949

My dear Bidhan,

I have just received your letter dated the 20th June and I hasten to reply.

To begin with, I need not assure you of my personal feeling of respect for you. I am quite sure that you took up the burden of the premiership from a sense of public service. Otherwise you were busy enough in many other activities, public and private, and there was no necessity for you to add to your troubles.²

There is no point at all in your resigning at this stage.³ When you come back from Switzerland, the situation may be a little clearer and we should consider it then. It is not wholly ruled out that we might have a fresh general election in Bengal. There are many other courses open to us to consider.

I repeat I did not say anything about the West Bengal Ministry not representing the people as a whole. What I said was that South Calcutta thought so and expressed its opinion against the Congress and the Ministry. But what the rest of the Province thought is another matter.

So I would not advise you to take any hasty step now. Go away for your treatment to Switzerland and Austria and have complete rest and freedom from worry.⁴ Forget, as far as possible, Calcutta and its troubles.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Roy wrote that when he was called upon to give up his professional career he did so because he felt that his services to Bengal might be more useful than his services to individual patients.

3. Roy reacted to the suggestion in Nehru's speech of 19 June 1949 at New Delhi following the defeat of the Congress candidate in the Calcutta bye-election, that the West Bengal Ministry had ceased to represent the people and should therefore resign.

4. Roy left for Switzerland on 23 June for treatment of an eye ailment.

2. To B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1949

My dear Pattabhi,

I have just come back from Dehra Dun where I had a talk with Sardar Patel and Rajendra Babu. We feel that the most convenient date for the Congress Working

1. A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

Committee is July 16th in Delhi. This is rather later than was at first intended, but I do not wish to ask Sardar Patel to be here any earlier. The meeting is likely to last some days as we have very important matters to consider. It may overlap somewhat with the meeting of the Congress Premiers which begins on the 18th of July.

I intend going to Calcutta for two days, July 13th and 14th. I think such a visit is essential from the political, psychological and other points of view. I hope to meet there not only the members of the Government and the members of the Congress Party in the Legislature, but also Congress leaders and selected workers. I also intend to address a public meeting there. I am sending a telegram to the Governor and Premier there about this. Please do not make this public till it is finally fixed up.

My visit to Calcutta will enable me to understand the situation perhaps a little better than from the various reports that we have received. I hope that it will enable us to deal with it more satisfactorily in Working Committee.

I am leaving for Ladakh on the morning of Sunday, the 3rd July, and returning on the 9th.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Kailas Nath Katju¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1949

My dear Kailas Nath,

You must be in East Bengal now, but presumably you will return soon.

I think it is necessary for me to visit Calcutta fairly soon. I am going away to Ladakh on the 3rd and hope to return on the 9th. On the 16th July we have a meeting of the Working Committee here and that will be followed by Premiers' meeting, Congress Assembly Party meetings, and then the Constituent Assembly itself. The only time, therefore, that I have to visit Calcutta is between the 10th and the 15th.

I intend going there for two days, the 13th and the 14th, and I have sent you a telegram to this effect today. During my visit, which is going to be a purely

1. J.N. Collection.

business visit without any functions, I want to see the members of the Government, the Congress Assembly Party, prominent members of the Provincial Congress Committee and selected workers. I must have a public meeting,² which, I take it, will be held in the Maidan.

I hope these days suit you and the others. I have no other dates available.

As regards the public meeting, care should be taken to have proper loudspeaker arrangements. The success of a big meeting depends entirely on loudspeakers. There are plenty of mischief-makers who cut wires, etc. The only safe way of proceedings is to have powerful amplifiers, three or four of them pointing in each direction right over the rostrum. Nobody can interfere with them and no special wiring is necessary. The voice carries far. These amplifiers must point in all the four directions including the back of the rostrum.

The situation in Calcutta obviously must be handled both with firmness and with intelligence and tact. It is fantastic for raids, etc., and conflicts and firing³ to take place day after day. We have, therefore, to view it first of all from the law and order points of view and have coordinated activities to put an end to the disorder, and secondly from the political and psychological point of view, which are at least as important. I hope to discuss all this with you and others when I come there. On my return here we shall have the Congress Working Committee meeting which will consider the situation from its own point of view.

I have written to the Acting Premier⁴ also.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Held on 14 July 1949. See *post*, item 9.

3. During June and the first half of July serious disorders attributed to communist instigation occurred in Calcutta and the surrounding countryside. On 4 June, the police lathi-charged a crowd gathered to watch a football match at the Maidan. On 8 June, there was police firing on Communist security prisoners at Presidency Jail, followed by similar incidents in Dum Dum and Alipore jails.

4. N.R. Sarkar.

4. To N.R. Sarkar¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1949

My dear Nalini Babu,²

I have just sent you a telegram indicating that I propose to visit Calcutta for two days on July 13th and 14th. I need hardly say that we are not at all happy about the situation in Calcutta. Undoubtedly this is the primary responsibility of the Provincial Government. But things have gone so far that the Central Government cannot be a mere onlooker. Apart from breaches of law and order, which are much more frequent, resulting often in conflict and firing, there is obviously a feeling of utter frustration among many people in Calcutta, including of course Congressmen. We cannot allow this to continue and must get a grip of this situation.

This law and order part of it must be dealt with firmly and intelligently. For this it may be desirable to hold a private conference of some representatives of the Central Government, with representatives of the Provincial Government, the police, intelligence, etc. Army representative may also be included. There should be no fuss about this and it should be done quietly.

While the law and order position is important, the other aspects are equally important and it is for this that I intend coming to Calcutta. In Calcutta I want to meet the members of Government, the members of the Congress Assembly Party, and leading members of the West Bengal P.C.C., all separately. In addition I want to address a public meeting and I consider this important. In the public meeting the rostrum should be fairly high, say ten feet. Loudspeaker arrangements must be perfect. The whole success of a meeting depends on the loudspeaker arrangements. Normally loudspeakers and amplifiers are spread out all over the meeting with a great deal of wiring in between them. This wiring is often interfered with and the meeting is disorganized. This must be guarded against. The only satisfactory way of doing so is to have powerful amplifiers and loudspeakers right over the rostrum, pointing in all the four directions. This does not require wiring and cannot be interfered with. If the amplifiers are good, the voice will carry far in each direction. I presume such amplifiers and loudspeakers can be found in Calcutta. If necessary the Army might be asked to supply them.

As soon as I hear from you in reply to my telegram I shall definitely fix my programme. It might then be announced to the public.

I have written to the Governor also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. N.R. Sarkar Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Sarkar was officiating as Chief Minister in B.C. Roy's absence.

5. To N.R. Sarkar¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1949

My dear Nalini Babu,

I have written to you separately about my proposed visit to Calcutta next month.² The dates I have mentioned are the only suitable dates so far as I am concerned. I am leaving Delhi for Ladakh on the 3rd July and returning on the 9th. There is going to be a Congress Working Committee meeting on the 16th and Congress Premiers are meeting here on the 18th July.

About the Calcutta situation, there are several points which I particularly wish to discuss with your Government.

(i) There has been frequent firing in Calcutta. I have no doubt that on each occasion firing might be justified. In fact there appears to be a deliberate policy on the part of the Communists and others to provoke firing. They indulge in violence, throw bombs and acid, etc. While, therefore, each instance may necessarily result in firing by the police or the military the fact remains that daily incidents of firing discredit a government and something has to be done to get a firmer grip of the situation.

(ii) Normally speaking, where there is a serious incident of firing by the police or the military, some kind of enquiry should follow. This should be more or less automatic. I am quite sure that the incident, which led to the death of three or four women by firing or otherwise, was one which should have been enquired into impartially. Such an enquiry was suggested by me to Dr Roy. The fact that no enquiry was held has undoubtedly irritated people and has gone against the Provincial Government. It is true that when there is firing daily it is hardly possible to have daily enquiries. Nevertheless the issue has to be faced.

(iii) The recent raids in the middle of the day on Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose's house as well as Dr P.C. Guha Roy's house were disturbing incidents.³ They do not redound to the credit of the police. There are some charges that the police were looking on and not interfering. Whether this was so or not I do not know, but the fact that a procession like this accompanied by the the police in a jeep could commit a raid indicates that there is something wrong about our arrangements. It has also been stated that the raid was perhaps partly organized by rival Congress factions.

1. N.R. Sarkar Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See the preceding item.

3. The houses of these two leading Congressmen were attacked by a mob on 15 June 1949. It was a sequel to the attack on the previous day on Congress leaders in Calcutta. On 16 June, fifty persons were arrested after a meeting on a charge of incitement to violence. On 22 June the police opened fire on demonstrators protesting against arrests under the West Bengal Security Act.

(iv) There are constant charges being made of corruption and nepotism in the Civil Supplies Department of the West Bengal Government. I know that these general charges are often made without any substantial evidence and they are usually too vague to be enquired into. One can only enquire into specific complaints. I know also that certain enquiries into specific complaints have been made in the past in West Bengal. Nevertheless the volume of complaint is considerable and I should like to find out from you and from your Government how you propose to deal with it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
June 28, 1949

My dear Bidhan,

I have received the letter² you sent me just before your departure. Also the fuller accounts of events in Calcutta.³ I have received in fact any number of accounts and appraisals of the situation there, and I can make a fair picture in my mind.

I intend going to Calcutta myself in the second week of July, about the 13th, and to see people for myself. In spite of the tradition that has been built up in Calcutta of not having Congress meetings, I propose to address a public meeting. Meanwhile, we are sending some other people there to report to us about various aspects of the situation.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. On 22 June 1949.
3. Roy sent a confidential note dated 22 June 1949, for the Congress Working Committee, in which he asserted that "it would be presumptuous for me to say that the Government is absolutely without blame." But he also added that the situation in West Bengal since 15 August 1947, the massacres and outrages committed by one community on the other, the soreness of feelings left behind in West Bengal even after the partition, the migration of a large number of people, the perpetual deficiency of food, the difficulty of procurement of cloth from areas outside Bengal, and the breaking up of transport arrangements between the two Bengals due to partition, had all been responsible for creating that discontent which expressed itself from time to time in mass violence.

On the 16th of July the Congress Working Committee is meeting and probably the most important item on the agenda will be Calcutta and West Bengal situation. Whatever may be the position in Calcutta, the effect on all India has been very great. It is perfectly true that the Congress in West Bengal is in a mess and most of our ills are due to this mess. We shall have to consider that matter. In fact, the situation in Calcutta has to be dealt with as rapidly as possible. I cannot say how this is going to be done. But we can hardly allow it to drift.

I wrote to you about Madan,⁴ the young Indian doctor in Vienna. I had asked him to see you at Berne. He writes to me that he cannot raise any foreign exchange for the journey. Perhaps our Minister can help him in coming over to Berne.

Yours,
Jawahar

4. Raghunandanlal Madan (b.1914); Ophthalmologist; practised in Vienna after 1935; joined I.N.A. in 1942 and worked with Subhas Bose; returned to India in 1951.

7. To Kailas Nath Katju¹

New Delhi
July 2, 1949

My dear Kailas Nath,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th June. I enclose a copy of a letter I have written to Nalini Babu about my visit to Calcutta. I must have that public meeting, rain or no rain. But it is true that if the rain comes down it would be a nuisance.

You can certainly invite any people you like to meet me. Biren Mookerjee² is no particular chum of mine, but you can invite just whom you like. Certainly I would like to meet the members of C.R. Das's family.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. (1899-1984); Partner of Burn and Co., and Martin and Co.; Governing Director, Martin Burn Ltd.

8. On His Proposed Visit to Calcutta¹

In view of the request of the R.I.A.F. that owing to bad weather conditions in the afternoon, I should travel in the morning, I shall start at 8 a.m. from Palam on the 12th July. R.I.A.F. and Bengal Government should be informed accordingly.

2. This will give me a good part of the afternoon and evening on the 12th July in Calcutta. I suggest that this should be utilized in interviews with the Premier and the other Ministers. Also with some of the interviews fixed for the 13th morning.

3. I am prepared to meet the organizations and individuals mentioned in the Premier's letter of July 8th, subject to time. Such interviews should normally be for fifteen minutes each, though in the programme about twenty minutes should be allowed.

4. In the case of the Refugee Committee, Cooch Behar, I do not think it is necessary to arrange an interview, as I am not dealing specially with the refugee problem, and certainly not with the refugee problem outside Calcutta and West Bengal. Shri Mohanlal Saksena, Rehabilitation Minister, is going to Calcutta and they should see him.

5. I should like to meet some of the high officials.

6. As far as possible, all such interviews should be fitted in on the 12th and 13th July, keeping the 14th free, except for the public meeting. Probably some new engagements may have to be made or new consultations may be necessary and I would prefer, therefore, the morning of the 14th to be free.

7. While I am grateful to the Premier for inviting me to dinner on the 14th July, I do not think it will be fitting for me to go out for any meal. This will not produce a good impression, and it would be far better if all my meals are in Government House where I shall be staying. During these meals in Government House, a few persons may be invited whom I can see for a short while. Some of the persons invited by the Acting Premier on the 14th July might be fitted into some meal at Government House.

8. The rostrum being constructed for the public meeting seems a bit too high, but I do not wish to interfere with any such arrangements.

9. I should like to see Mr Shen Tsung-lien, Adviser of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Chinese Government, who is staying at the Great Eastern Hotel, Calcutta, sometime on the 13th or 14th morning during my stay in Calcutta. Half an hour can be kept for him.

1. Note to N.R. Sarkar, 9 July 1949. N.R. Sarkar Papers, N.M.M.L.

9. Solutions to the Problems of Bengal¹

I am convinced now after my three-day visit to Bengal that something has to be done to shake up the people from the present mood. A way will have to be found in consultation with my colleagues.

I want men and women of grit, who can bravely dare and face the situation. I want people who can rise to the occasion, rise above petty things. I do not attach the slightest importance to the result of the South Calcutta election, but what I do mind is the fact that after the breaking up of the first Congress election meeting, to this day Congressmen have not dared to hold public meetings in Calcutta. They have failed to face the crowd and have advised me also not to do so. Go and risk death if necessary in facing and solving the problems of the day.

More than any other part of India, Bengal has special problems, but you cannot offer a solution to a problem unless you understand the problem itself. Today I am interested only in finding out men and women of grit who can resist the hooliganism and terrorism of a few. In this great city, even on its highways, a handful of *goondas* can stop a tram, ask the passengers to get down and then set fire to it. This to me is a fantastic state of affairs. How can this be tolerated? I can only conclude that the brave people of Bengal have either become meek and docile or are in sympathy with the hooligans.

What is your reaction to what is going on here today? Why has it not spurred you to action?

In public life, there are basic things which can never be lost sight of. What did Mahatmaji do? He introduced a tradition of reality in the public life of India and asked us to go to the man in the street. He gave us the *mantra* 'shed fear'. At that time the fear complex was due to an alien Government and its police. His approach built up our resistance movement and gave us strength. Even though conditions have changed, our need for strength and courage, our need to work among that people are the same today. But what do I see? Instead of continuing Gandhiji's tradition which is easier to do today, because power is vested in your party, Congressmen are retreating—are losing the strength they have acquired.

Are you so frightened that you cannot even realize that what you are faced with is a life and death problem for the nation? Compared to the problem we are facing, even corruption, nepotism and bribery are insignificant. Am I facing a frightened group of people or an audience of the brave? This is the question I ask

1. Address to Congress Workers, Government House, Calcutta, 14 July 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 18 July 1949.

when I am faced with an audience. This basic problem cannot be solved by political manoeuvring. To achieve great results in life, substantial things have to be done. You cannot solve a problem unless you are prepared to face the consequences. In solving this terribly vital problem, you should be prepared to face the gravest dangers.

While most problems are common to all parts of India, Calcutta has certain peculiarities. It provides a favourable atmosphere to the Communist Party to try out their experiments of creating chaos which, they hope, will spread over the Province and the country.

We are faced with a situation which no nationalist or patriot can tolerate. Even real communism cannot come through violence. Ultimately, whichever system can deliver the goods will be the order that will prevail in the world. If the order in Russia demonstrates this moral, physical and material power, then the world will go that way. If America, India or any other country can, through her system, achieve better results, the world will adopt that path.

The Communist Party of India does not want communism in India. They have adopted a degrading policy which no country or individual can accept. If it is a real communism I would not object to it, but their communism has nothing to do with India or the Indian people; their objective is to have a weak India. According to their own arguments they aim at chaos, increasing unemployment and want, which will bring in complete misery for a generation or so. Today we are short of everything. Through their present methods only large-scale famine and frustration can come in. This breakdown, they hope, will lead people to a desperate act of revolution. That is what they are hoping, but then history has recorded that such conditions may not mean revolution. Hitlerism, fascism and such totalitarian forces can take its place. A bomb-thrower is not necessarily a revolutionary. In certain circumstances, his act may bring in counter-revolution. The bomb-thrower who imagines he is a revolutionary may fail, while a man of love like Gandhi may bring in a mightier revolution by changing the people's outlook. A real revolutionary must take note of the circumstances and the human material on which his actions are to be based.

India's political freedom can now be taken for granted; yet anything can happen, not so much due to danger from foreign countries as from internal forces of disruption. If we are not alert, reactionary forces may sweep away all other progressive forces, even though ultimately they themselves may also perish.

It is said that Congressmen at present are out to get benefits for themselves. Their outlook is foolish and suicidal. In this changing world past sacrifices count for nothing. The new generation does not even remember the past. If you expect a pension from the nation, you will not get it. Only further work, the fulfilment of your duty to the nation can assist you, but that also will not be available if you do not wake up to reality.

I am not going to discuss your group politics.² The events of the last two years have brought in a new state of affairs and have released numerous forces in India. Unfortunately on the eve of independence there started a storm of communalism, widespread massacres, uprooting and migration of populations, immense mass misery and ruination. This was followed by the release of new economic and political forces. One has to give priority to and understand these new questions, the way the problems and the balance of forces have developed. I am not considered a successful politician and may not be able to solve your internal party problems. Some one else may have to come here to help you for that.

What I am concerned with is the larger issues that direct and influence the policy and conduct of the Congress and Congressmen. I find the Congress in Calcutta in a frightened and hesitant mood. If this continues, it is time to write its memoir and let it retire. I have never functioned in this way. If one meeting is broken up, I would hold hundreds of meetings.

The police is supposed to be under the Congress Government. If what you say is a fact, then it betrays sheer funk and small-mindedness. You are functioning in small groups and you do everything on the personal plane. This must end.

I want to say something about our economic policy. The Government is following a path which will not worsen the situation. No person in the Government can take risks with millions of people. Much depends on the productive capacity of the nation and on proper distribution. Any policy that endangers the existing productive capacity without replacing it is dangerous. We want to concentrate on building up our objective to replace the present. So we have had to go slow. By merely passing a resolution on nationalization, the thing is not achieved. For proper and effective nationalization, you require a high quality of human and other resources. How are we going to achieve that? By pure expropriation or with compensation? The Congress decided on the latter on purely practical considerations. It is cheaper and causes the least delay to nationalize through compensation. Resistance, tactics of delaying, ultimately costs more.

If priority is given to the nationalization of all existing big industries and all resources are thrown into it, then no addition is made to the existing productive apparatus. This seemed to us foolish. Therefore, categories were made. Certain essential industries were immediately nationalized while some others were brought under State control and fresh resources were put in to create new plants which would add to the wealth of the country. Do you want us to acquire an existing steel plant or put in a new State steel plant and thus increase the State's productive power?

In such a situation, what is one to do? Even though I am interested in the Congress, I am more interested in the future of India and of Bengal. I do not mind

2. The two factions within the West Bengal Congress were the 'Ministerial Group' led by B.C. Roy, and the 'Hooghly Group' represented by Prafulla Chandra Ghosh.

if the Congress is defeated in an election. It might save the soul of the Congress. I do not want to be defeated, but then it is better to be in that position than at present. A great deal of discontent prevails against those in the Provincial Government and in the Congress, also against the Centre which is far off from the scene. Most of this is based on vague charges, but the basic feeling is one of frustration that the executive is not amenable. It was the same feeling against the British, for which Gandhiji showed us the way.

General elections will be held within one and a half years, but even that seems to me a rather long time. It takes time to prepare electoral rolls on the basis of adult franchise.

Meanwhile, a way has to be found to remove this sense of frustration and to bring about a sense of responsibility in the masses, that will serve as a training to them for responsible working of democracy. Why should I impose my will on the people? Let them decide—either to have us or to throw us out. No one can take away the right to serve the country. Elections are not the only means.

In human life, quality is more important than quantity. Gandhiji laid emphasis on it. For the Congress also quality is wanted—not quantity. It does not matter at all if we lose or win. Manoeuvring is a bad thing. I just wanted to take you into my confidence and tell you how I feel. Something has to be done to shake up the people from the present mood. In consultation with my colleagues, a way will be found. Meanwhile, let us not bother ourselves with what the other person is doing or not doing; let us perform our own task.

10. The Responsibilities of Bengal¹

You have been reminded just now about my visit to this great city six months ago.² I had then addressed you from the same platform at a public meeting³ in which we had paid a tribute to the Buddha, the greatest man our country had produced. Why have I come again to Calcutta after six months? You may infer

1. Public address in Hindustani, Brigade Parade Grounds, Calcutta, 14 July 1949. From the discs of *The Gramophone Company of India*, N.M.M.L.
2. On 14 and 15 January 1949.
3. On 14 January 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, pp. 101-103.

any reason yourself but I would like to give my own reasons. Even though I always like to come to Bengal because I get inspiration from the major role it had played in India's political history and because it broadens my outlook, preoccupation with work kept me back from visiting this city more often, for which I am sad. Then why have I come now? I have not come to give a clean chit to the Government here or to narrate long stories, nor have I come here to tell you how nervous I am because of the riots or the throwing of bombs. These things are deplorable but I am not afraid nor can I be forced into submission by these threats. Then why have I come here? I have come here because I felt that the people of Calcutta and Bengal have been overtaken by restlessness and despair. This frustration is growing in every area, in groups, and in the people. This is understandable.

We have to carry big burdens today. Bengal is only one small part of the whole, and is facing the consequences of partition. The influx of population to Calcutta, unemployment and other problems are responsible for despair amongst the youth here. What should be done and what not? If this frustration drives them into wrong directions then it creates a big problem. What are we to do then? I began working in the political field 35 years ago. Normally we should have gained by this long association—at least a pension, for Dr Katju and for myself. But the work goes on. There was an inspiration, a goal, and a cause which attracted us to continue playing a part during these 35 years, and we shall continue to serve as long as we have the strength. Our time shall come and is coming, we shall die, but who will take over these burdens on their shoulders and run the Government? Obviously the youth who are in the colleges and universities today in Calcutta, and in other parts of the country, for we shall live only for a few years more. It is the youth who will have to shoulder the responsibilities of tomorrow with their strong hands.

We have made thousands of mistakes in the Government or even outside. I will not go into that because I admit those mistakes. If you think that we committed mistakes because of bad intentions then I have no answer. But we have to look at the big problems of the day detached from any personal viewpoint. Man lives one life but nations are immortal. Therefore we should take a look at the problems of India in total perspective taking into account her future.

We have overcome a big problem—the problem of British domination, but after we succeeded in this other problems followed us. May be these problems were the creation of our foolishness and mistakes but we have to face these problems rather than run away from them. We are overcoming these problems, but a solution of one problem leads to two new problems. This goes on in all the countries of the world and in the process the nations progress. Change is a symbol of progress. If this process stops then nations die and become stale.

What bothers me when I think of Bengal? I assure you it is not the election in South Calcutta which took place three weeks ago in which a Congress candidate was defeated. Someone wins, someone loses and that is part of the game. I

congratulate the candidate⁴ who won the election and sympathize with the candidate⁵ who lost; but I am perturbed by the anger and restlessness of Bengal. It is the sadness in the hearts of the people of Bengal that has drawn me to come here. I wanted to come earlier, but I did not want to cancel my programme to Ladakh. I visited Ladakh which is in between the Himalayan and the Karakoram ranges, and has borders with Tibet, China and Russia. It is far away yet a part of big India.

Now, if we concentrate on our problems carefully, remember that the problems are not of one town or of a province but of our big country. We have to see them in broad perspective and try to find solutions for them.

So I came to Calcutta three days ago and I met four to five hundred persons individually and in groups. I listened to their problems and they gave me their views and opinions. I have come to listen and understand the problems and not to advise. Yes, when the time comes I shall advise in consultation with my colleagues. It is our duty to find solutions to your problems, the best possible we can, and place them before you and the country. It will be better if we place the proposals after I discuss them with my colleagues in the Central Government and the Congress Working Committee. So, I spent three days meeting people, all types of people, good and bad, who expressed diverse opinions. It is understandable that I cannot meet all the fifty to sixty lakhs of people in Calcutta but I met the representatives of students, Congressmen, opponents of Congress, women organizations, refugees, and others; and I was able to form a clear impression. It was not a new picture but a clearer picture. Why? Whatever viewpoints are raised have to be understood, though exaggerated pictures are usually hazy and uncalled for.

About corruption, petty culprits get caught in the web and are punished, while bigger culprits usually manage to go unpunished because they leave no clues or proof of their actions. We have taken them to the courts a number of times but they have been acquitted for lack of adequate evidence. This has happened.

Well, this question of corruption, wherever it is, is a product of the War. It was there before the War also, but it increased during the World War and in the last years of our struggle against the British Raj. I want to tell you, that despite tall talk of corruption being rampant now the fact is that it has decreased in the last two years. Some measures have been taken against corruption and it is not that it is going on unabated. It is being checked and shall be controlled, and I am sure of it. But it slips from our hands when people talk irresponsibly against it, because the real criminal hides in the background of irresponsible rumours, and this vitiates the atmosphere conducive to dealing with it. This is wrong. We have to identify the snake and catch it, but we cannot go on crying that there is nothing

4. Sarat Chandra Bose.

5. Suresh Chandra Das.

but snakes all around. So everyone starts to exaggerate the stories, including our elders, and in the process we often gloss over the real picture. We have to take concrete steps, it is true, and in this you should all cooperate; not by talking only but by bringing forward substantive charges and evidence on which we can institute a full enquiry wherever possible. Merely to charge that in Calcutta, or in Bengal or for that matter in the whole country everyone takes bribes, does not solve the problem. You must bring to our notice specific charges of corruption and I shall do everything in my power to institute an enquiry, and I am sure even the provincial governments will do so. In case there are corrupt men in the government itself, we shall take necessary action against them, for no government can run with corrupt men. You are aware also that there are personnel always ready with open eyes to catch the culprits. Well, this aspect has been discussed with many representatives and the problem has made an impression on me.

In Calcutta there have been a number of police firings in which some women were also killed. There can be no two opinions about the undesirability of opening fire which always pains and troubles the persons affected; but I am not prepared to assure you that police would not resort to firing in any event. This is not possible because when the enemy attacks society, it becomes the duty of the Government to protect it. It is possible that in doing so it may commit mistakes.

Now, what has been happening in Calcutta in the last few months, especially the last two or three months? Some persons, they say, as part of the programme of the Communist Party, throw bombs, acid-bombs, burn trams and buses, at times throw a bomb at policemen. I want you to give a thought to this as part of your duty. I hope that if this is being done by misled boys and girls they will correct themselves. What I cannot understand is that this goes on in open and people tolerate it, in this biggest city of India. What is the matter? I heard just now that at times eight or ten boys stop a tram, request all the passengers to alight, inform them of their intention to burn the tram, and then set it on fire. Is this a *tamasha*? I fail to understand whether the people of Calcutta approve of these incidents or whether they get unnerved and are unable to decide as to what steps they should take. Whatever the explanation, you permit these incidents to take place. What does this mean? It means that it will make life difficult to live in Calcutta. Nor would trade be possible because it takes place only during the day-time. Why should traders work hard and for what? A gang or a group of 100 or 400 can stop anyone, loot anyone, burn anything—this is what is going on. It is like a natural calamity over a city. This by itself can be dealt with, but it is a symptom of a disease. I want to tell you that I am not affected by what a group of 10, 15 or 20 boys and girls think or do. We will either make them understand or punish them; we will in any case put a stop to their activities. The question is, however, as to what 50 lakhs of men and women of Calcutta think and do? And what are their views? Because these questions are more important than the question of corruption. It is more dangerous because if people submit themselves to these activities and threats then

the work of the nation slips and comes to a stop and the questions of Calcutta and Bengal assume huge proportions. What face will the people of Calcutta show to the world when they allow any man on the street to do anything he pleases? After all peace in the city is maintained not by the police or the Army alone. The police can only help in an emergency. Peace is maintained if people of the country desire peace and cooperate in doing so. A small group of the police force cannot keep lakhs in submission. There is a big police force in Calcutta. But outside Calcutta in rural areas, if people do not help the police, the police become helpless even if there is looting.

The Communist Party thinks this kind of violence to be their principle. I fail to understand how this is the communist principle. Where is this said and where is it written? I have read communist literature to find out what their principles are. But I have not read or seen anywhere what the Communist Party claims to be their principle. Some of these men still believe that they are fighting for communism. Some anti-social elements are using this principle as a cloak and are burning, looting and killing people. No one can recognize who are behind this curtain. This will vitiate the atmosphere and the country will collapse. So you should try to understand this problem. How to stop this? We can stop this if people in the country decide as to what they should do. If you are unhappy with the Central or the Provincial Government, you have a right to change the Government. But if you decide to do so by violent means, by looting, burning and killing; if you make these your political means then politics will become meaningless. Then it is not politics, it is something else.

It is strange that I have to tell you all this. We followed the principle of nonviolence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi during our freedom struggle. Whether we are now following all his principles is a different question. But we have shown the world that we could fight for our independence against the mighty British imperialism by following these principles. The world knows about it and history is the witness. After achieving independence, and with the high reputation that we earned, we have again started fighting against one another. Why is it so? Six months ago, as you heard just now, we had met here on the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti. But you seem to have forgotten the Buddha's principles.

I am only placing my views before you—and you have a right to have your own. Young men and women here have a right to have their own viewpoint. In our country we do not want everyone to think alike. In this big country all of us have a right to our views, but by consultation and discussion we should find the right path for the country. But we arrive at a right approach only after mutual discussion in peace and by nonviolent means. Our minds get closed when we resort to force, because then it becomes a different thing, and difficult to work democratically. It becomes a 'police state'. The question then is who has the bigger baton and the more powerful gun? Our Communist friends are bluffing themselves

if they think they have a powerful gun. Who is there amongst them who can fire a gun? Then theirs is a juvenile talk which bears no relation with their minds. I am sure that the biggest enemy of communism in India today is the Communist Party of India.

I have met many deputations. Many people have voiced their complaints against the Congress Party here. I am sorry to say that the Congress here is divided into two groups at times working together and at other times working against each other. This is the cause of their weakness. There was a time when the Congress workers worked with the masses but now they are fighting for power and office and are no longer working for the masses. If this is correct then who is going to work for the masses? This is a straight question. If Congress has made any impression on the masses it is because of its work with them in the last thirty or forty years. If you stop giving anything you will stop getting also. This is something you should try to understand. We cannot exploit the idea that since we courted arrest and went to jail ten or twenty years ago therefore we have a right to do anything we please now. The fact is that the Congress today is not working with the masses as it worked earlier. Congressmen should realize that while there is a lot to be done in the Government, yet democracy demands that we renew our contacts with the masses. This is in the interest of the Government and the Congress.

Secondly, I have heard complaints against the Provincial Government here. Some of the deputationists expressed their anger against the police firing on women and on prisoners in jails, others against the rampant corruption from top to bottom. You are aware of these complaints and I have heard them too. There was also mention of the condition of refugees. Other questions were raised which had direct relationship with the Central government. I want to tell you about one or two things.

As I said earlier, I have not come here to give a clean chit to what is happening here. If you have not been able to understand me during my association with you for the last thirty years, or if I have failed to understand you, then when will we begin? The time to recognize each other is over. I am saying this not with any intention of giving any clean chit. There is some truth in the complaints about corruption which is rampant in Calcutta, Bengal,—and in other parts of our country. I have noticed that those who are raising their voice the loudest are themselves the culprits. During the last War this problem had followed us. During the War these types of questions go into the background. During the War we were fighting against the Germans on the one hand and the British Empire on the other. Those who prospered then did not act with responsibility. The British Government gave promotions and recognition to some individuals and groups not because of their service to the nation but because of their status. For example, during the War when we were in prison there was one organization which was patronized by the British. This was the Communist Party of India. I want to remind you of these facts because the public memory is short. At that time when brave men of India were fighting for freedom, the Communist Party of India was patronized by the British. The

Communist Party earlier to that, was a small party. This is a strange fact. The British Government had no love for the Communists but the situation then demanded their seeking help from the Communist Party; because there was no other group or people ready to help them. So the Communist Party prospered under the shadow of the British Raj. This is something worth remembering. Now it is they who are raising the slogans of liberty and freedom whereas earlier with no moral standards, shamelessly they had sided with the policies of an alien Government. During a war this happens in all countries and it happened in India also. The only difference was that in our country patriotism was not relevant then. Those who had love for their country were in jails. By this I do not mean that those outside the jails did not love their country. What I want to say is that there were some people who benefited by the War, and some who made a lot of money.

In this connection, I want to remind you of the great famine of Bengal. The famine was a consequence of the British policy. Even when there was a famine here some people continued amassing wealth even if it meant hardship for the people. I remember saying something about the famine after my release from Ahmadnagar Jail.⁶ At that time a report⁷ on famine was released which gave details of deaths due to a flourishing black market and high prices outside Bengal. They made a lot of money at the cost of lakhs of lives. Against that background I asked as to what punishment ought to be given to those who made money in the black market. Any punishment, I said, was negligible compared to the damage they had done. Even if they were hanged, I said, this punishment was inadequate. This is what I said then about the Bengal famine. Now people complain that I am a friend of the black marketeers and that I am protecting them. Well, as I said earlier, I am not interested in giving any explanation or a clean chit. But this is something you must think about.

I would like to add that, whichever country you visit you will find there these phenomena of corruption and black marketing. Everywhere moral standards were lowered during the War. So it is nothing particular to India. It has caused hardships and it has to be checked, even if the culprit is a big man. We have to punish them and check corruption.

Further I would say that often people complain to me about the Congress and the Government, and give long complaints about corruption and nepotism. But when I ask them to cite specific charges on which I may institute an enquiry they shy away from answering. There is no doubt that today there is a moral decline. We have to get rid of the ills, but we have to stop ourselves from being carried away

6. Nehru was released from jail on 15 June 1945, and issued the press statement on 17 February 1946 after the release of the Famine Commission's Report. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 14, pp. 249-250.

7. *Famine Inquiry Commission (1945): Report on Bengal*. The Commission was appointed in July 1944 to report on the causes of the famine in 1942-44, and the prevention of famine in future.

by rumours. Without any proof rumours are spread from ear to ear and in many cases they turn out to be baseless. This is a wrong approach because if everyone calls everyone else a thief, the real culprit manages to run away. Everyone talks about charges and countercharges which are baseless at times and this does not help in fighting the corruption in our society, a disease which we have to cure. We will not be able to cure the disease if we exaggerate the symptoms. You cannot be cured of 103 degrees temperature if you tell your doctor that it is 108 degrees.

So, while on the one hand we have to fight these ills in our society, in our Government and in the Congress, on the other we have to understand that violent means would lead us astray. There is only one effect of violence, and I am sure you and I want to prevent it. This is important, because violent means drag the country towards what Hitler's Germany represented. In Germany it all started with petty internal fighting. There also the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party fought against each other and in the process Hitler came to power in a big way. Anyone who raised a finger against him was exterminated or exiled. So we should try to understand what we are doing. Shouting tall slogans will not solve the problem.

There are big questions and problems to be faced by our country and they can be solved only with your cooperation and hard work. For example, one of the big questions today is the problem of unemployment of lakhs of young people. We are trying to create employment for them but it is impossible for the Government to employ them in the government service in lakhs. Do you want the whole country to become a government office? People can get jobs only when new avenues are opened and productive employment generated in industry and agriculture. Only then does the wealth of the nation increase. It is our duty to raise the standards of the people in our country and free them of their troubles. How to do this? Any increase in nation's wealth becomes the wealth of the people. Some people may amass more wealth than others, that is another question. But the fact is that if the country produces more in a year that wealth is divided amongst the people. If it can be equally divided it will be best.

How is wealth created? Not by monetary exchange alone but by trade. Wealth is what you produce in the factories and on the land. Increased production means more wealth for the people. If there is no increase in production the living standards of the people do not increase. We can increase employment and the standard of living only by increased productivity in our country.

I want to emphasize that this cannot be achieved by slogans or through enactment of law, but by your hard work. If in any region of our country work stops or production falls, the burden will fall on the people because it will affect the wages of the workers. Leave aside the question of honesty and corruption what is more important today is higher productivity. Please think about this.

What has been the policy of the Communist Party? It is to impede any increase in production so that people may suffer more. They believe that more suffering of

Communist Party earlier to that, was a small party. This is a strange fact. The British Government had no love for the Communists but the situation then demanded their seeking help from the Communist Party; because there was no other group or people ready to help them. So the Communist Party prospered under the shadow of the British Raj. This is something worth remembering. Now it is they who are raising the slogans of liberty and freedom whereas earlier with no moral standards, shamelessly they had sided with the policies of an alien Government. During a war this happens in all countries and it happened in India also. The only difference was that in our country patriotism was not relevant then. Those who had love for their country were in jails. By this I do not mean that those outside the jails did not love their country. What I want to say is that there were some people who benefited by the War, and some who made a lot of money.

In this connection, I want to remind you of the great famine of Bengal. The famine was a consequence of the British policy. Even when there was a famine here some people continued amassing wealth even if it meant hardship for the people. I remember saying something about the famine after my release from Ahmadnagar Jail.⁶ At that time a report⁷ on famine was released which gave details of deaths due to a flourishing black market and high prices outside Bengal. They made a lot of money at the cost of lakhs of lives. Against that background I asked as to what punishment ought to be given to those who made money in the black market. Any punishment, I said, was negligible compared to the damage they had done. Even if they were hanged, I said, this punishment was inadequate. This is what I said then about the Bengal famine. Now people complain that I am a friend of the black marketeers and that I am protecting them. Well, as I said earlier, I am not interested in giving any explanation or a clean chit. But this is something you must think about.

I would like to add that, whichever country you visit you will find there these phenomena of corruption and black marketing. Everywhere moral standards were lowered during the War. So it is nothing particular to India. It has caused hardships and it has to be checked, even if the culprit is a big man. We have to punish them and check corruption.

Further I would say that often people complain to me about the Congress and the Government, and give long complaints about corruption and nepotism. But when I ask them to cite specific charges on which I may institute an enquiry they shy away from answering. There is no doubt that today there is a moral decline. We have to get rid of the ills, but we have to stop ourselves from being carried away

6. Nehru was released from jail on 15 June 1945, and issued the press statement on 17 February 1946 after the release of the Famine Commission's Report. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 14, pp. 249-250.

7. *Famine Inquiry Commission (1945): Report on Bengal*. The Commission was appointed in July 1944 to report on the causes of the famine in 1942-44, and the prevention of famine in future.

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the people would make them angry and the resultant chaos will attract them to join the revolution. Now let us preserve and build on what we have from all sides.

Well, I have placed some of my views before you to consider. There are many questions which our world is facing today on which I could have talked to you. There is one thing, however, I would like to mention. Many refugees have come from East Bengal to Calcutta and to other provinces. The first thing is that some people are mistaken in their thinking that we have been taking extra trouble about rehabilitating refugees from Punjab, Sind and Frontier Province; that we are spending more on their rehabilitation than on the refugees who have come from Bengal. This is wrong. We are following only one principle for refugees either from the east or west. I want to make this point very clear. The refugees who came from Punjab and Sind are Hindus and Sikhs who were uprooted in lakhs there. Even in Sind, Hindus and Muslims did not get on well. It is true that there were many Hindus in East Bengal but they were well settled there and we did not expect them to migrate here in lakhs. Even if they did choose to come, the question was that of rehabilitation. But crores moved and it became a big problem. Therefore we did not favour so many people migrating from East Bengal and coming to India. But for those who did choose to come, and came, we wanted to apply the same yardstick for their rehabilitation as we did for the refugees from West Pakistan.

Well, we had then to face a problem of rehabilitating 60 to 70 lakhs of refugees, a problem of gigantic magnitude the like of which the whole world had never faced before. For this we did not receive any aid from the United Nations. It was a big burden for new independent India and all the strength of our country went in shouldering it. No country can progress in this way and it only leads to a nation's downfall. Well, you should organize yourselves and do the best you can.

You may choose anyone in elections. You can form any government you so desire. You may do anything you like, but if you choose violence as your means then the nation will not only fall internally but also invite external aggression.

As I was telling you, a group of persons are making some trouble at the back⁸—well, that makes no difference to the continuance of this huge public meeting. Please sit down and do not get up or panic because that is the intention of the disrupters. Now, it is for you to decide as to who stands for civil liberties. These people are raising slogans for civil liberties by trying to disturb a meeting. Well I do not want the Government or the police to take any action against them, the people themselves should judge them and take appropriate steps.

Well as I told you, I felt very sad about the police firings here. I am convinced that in each of these cases an impartial enquiry will be instituted.

Please sit down. Do not panic because of two or four persons. You judge these elements for yourselves. They think they can disrupt this meeting and the crowd

8. In a bomb explosion one policeman died and five persons were injured.

would disperse in panic and I would run away under threat. I call upon you to teach them a lesson and stand up to them. You should crush them as you kill a snake. Can they blackmail the nation? I do not want any policeman to take any action. I know that it is the duty of the people to take necessary steps, control the situation and teach them a lesson. Please sit down. Do you expect the power of the nation to be handed over to these juvenile immature minds? Is this the way they would run the country? It is shameful.

Please remember that the first and most important thing is that we have to adopt nonviolent means and violence has to be ended. You have a right to tell me about your problems, but I want to make it clear that you have given me regard and love during the last 30 years and I shall continue to love you in spite of all these incidents.

Please do not beat him.⁹ I request the policemen not to go to that side. This is no business of the police. Please sit down.

I was telling you that if the people take the responsibility of maintaining peace in the city then very soon they shall have to overcome the violence of today. There should be no need for the police. I take the entire responsibility of the police firings and I assure you that an enquiry on all charges of firing shall be instituted and the report placed before the public. Please sit down.

After my arrival here in Calcutta, I was told that people here are angry with the Central Government in Delhi. Well, they have a right to be angry. I was told that they were angry about many questions and complained that we did not give much importance to it. There is this question of the Bengal-Bihar boundary

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... uch problems are there in Bengal, Andhra,
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9. At this point some members of the

a Sikh state. I know that the British had changed the map of India and we have to change it further. We have to set it right. The British had divided the States artificially, but when questions are raised now to change the map, it involves boundary questions for all the provinces in India—from south to north. This is because there is no unanimity about the problem. Well, we will, for sure, solve this problem mutually. I am aware of it and we have to do it. The map of India is still changing, and the Princely States are merging with the Indian Union. Those who studied geography in school will realize that the maps they had worked on then are outdated today. We do not want to raise this issue at this time as it will lead to conflict, arguments and tension. It is advisable that we wait and be patient about this question for three or four years, and I am sure that with goodwill and understanding we shall solve this problem and be on a firm footing.

I am aware of the problems of Bengal caused by the partition: problems not of Bengal alone but of India as a whole. It is the duty of the whole country to help Bengal and solve her problems. But when you expect help from other parts of India, you can get it only if you do not come in conflict with other provinces. In a conflict, whoever wins, the question remains unsolved nor would it solve the problem of Bengal. I have therefore suggested that you postpone the questions about the boundaries. I want to tell you that the Bengal Government have been raising these questions. So it is wrong for you to assume that they are passive about this question. The Bengal Government have been raising the questions of the boundary, Cooch Behar, and the jute industry and we have given due consideration to their views. We have been discussing these problems. But with regard to this boundary question I would like to say that the problem cannot be solved by force. This will only lead to bitter conflict. We cannot solve internal problems by force but only by peaceful settlement. I want you to consider these questions with a cool mind.

The second question that was raised was about Cooch Behar. In such questions if you take a decision in haste it only leads to a conflict because each side wants a decision in its favour. This question ultimately must be decided by the people of Cooch Behar. We have to talk to them, only then can we take a decision. The Central Government does not have the strength to use any force. We have therefore decided to postpone any decision about Cooch Behar for the moment, and have decided to keep Cooch Behar under Central rule. So I have discussed these two questions with you.

Now I come to the most important question which has pulled me to Calcutta. I have come here not because by coincidence a Congress candidate lost his seat in the election but because I thought and was told that people here are unnerved and restless. So I thought it to be my duty to come here. I have been working for the Congress for the last thirty years and what I am today is because of the Congress. If our status has improved today it is because of the Congress. So you know that I belong to the Congress and I think that at this juncture if there is any

organization which can and should serve the masses, it is the Congress. If the Congress changes itself or if Congressmen stop serving the masses and become self-centered then the Congress would be finished. It would not be the old Congress. If Congress is finished or gets weak, then what will be the effect? Is there any strong organization today which can keep India together? After the British left India the country was divided, there were conflicts and riots everywhere. If there was one organization that kept people together it was the Congress, which had the strength. I am sure that if Congress had not been there at that time, our country would have been divided into small bits. I, therefore, think it necessary for the Congress today to be strengthened. This is not to say that suddenly all the weaknesses of the Congress would end but I do not know whither would we be led without the Congress in the dangerous two or three years ahead. In case provincialism increases and each province thinks only of itself, then the nation will be weakened, and if small groups and parties emerge in the regional assemblies or at the Centre in the next elections, then there will be no stable and strong government in the country. If the Government falls and changes in quick succession it will only help the enemies of the nation who will weaken the country, and may even attack us.

It is my firm opinion that India needs an organization like the Congress. Whether it remains for ever or not, that is not the question, but if it does not follow the right path and shirks from serving the people, then I suggest that it would be better to wind up the Congress.

All this I have said—but then I have to look at the problems of the country not from the viewpoint of the Congress but from that of a nation. When you have chosen me as your Prime Minister of India it becomes my duty to give equal importance to all the provinces and it is also my duty to advise the Congressmen when they go wrong. Why am I the Prime Minister? Because I was the leader of the Congress when I was chosen as the Prime Minister by the Congress. If the Congress Working Committee, which is scheduled to meet in three days' time, asks me to resign then I shall do so without any argument. I will resign and go. Then I will serve the country in some other capacity. Even then I shall look at the questions not from the Congress viewpoint, but as to where our nation is going and as to what problems Bengal is facing. I came here to meet all sections of people and not Congressmen alone.

I have drawn your attention to the basic weaknesses of yours which I have seen. I am reluctant and sorry to tell you that there is a need for unity amongst the elder Congressmen here. I am sure they will go forward and revitalize the Congress, and I must add that it cannot be done by a magic wand. I do not say that I have lost all hope about unity in their ranks but I cannot force myself on them, they have to decide for themselves. Any pressure from the top is artificial and not real. They have to think about it themselves.

Who should suggest the solutions to the questions of Bengal today? Should I advise, or the Congress Working Committee, or the Government? What solutions can they suggest, temporary solutions? Then who should suggest the real solutions? Anyone from Bengal but not from outside. You should have the right, and you have the right to shape your future. You should elect those whom you so desire and vote out the ones you do not want. You should change what you do not like. After all that is the meaning of provincial autonomy. It is true that there are national questions, like that of armed forces which belong to the nation and not to Bengal or Punjab alone. But there are regional problems which are your own and it is you who have to solve them.

It is for this reason that I thought it necessary to come here and understand the anxiety in your hearts. The question was of ending the restlessness, the despair, and the suspicion which was in your hearts. I feel that that responsibility of the decision as to how you should run your own Government lies with you. Some people believe that these Congressmen and their leaders who have come to power will never relinquish power. May be some persons may have the intention to stick to power, but then elections will be held very soon in two years' time. In these elections you will have a right to vote and elect under the federal Republic. So we are not your guests for long. This one or two years is also a long time. If you so desire we are ready to resign today or tomorrow. And I want to assure you from my heart that at least as far as I am concerned I shall not be grieved or be left in the cold. I will be able to work better and serve my country in doing so. After all you should not take it to your heart that you have a Provincial or a Central Government which works against your wishes. There is no need to use violence if you want to change the Government. There are other means which are easier. It will be good if the Government is changed so that the ministers realize that they can serve the country even without being in office. This is a wrong tendency amongst the few. After all, Congressmen have served the people not by being in office or as ministers but as workers. You would be wrong if you think that if I get a chance to rid myself of present responsibilities I will pitch myself on a Himalayan peak. I will devote myself and work with greater fervour for the masses.

This is for you to decide. I shall decide later what am I to do then. I may give some advice if sought, but it is for your Government to decide ultimately how they should solve their problems. I am convinced therefore that the people here should get a chance at the earliest to decide their future. It is also true that the Congress here has become outdated. Congressmen should revitalize the Congress and change their outlook and the new Congress should get ready for the elections. After all what is the Congress? Congress is an expression of people's viewpoints. If Congress does not change with the times it becomes outdated. The Congress should therefore hold its elections at the earliest and choose the new members or re-elect the old. I am also convinced that we should have Assembly elections in Bengal at the earliest and I shall seek the advice of my colleagues in Delhi as

to how we may organize them so that people here get a chance to vent their feelings and elect their representatives. This will solve the problem of the present restlessness here and also give you the responsibility to elect your own representatives. There is no question, therefore, of pressure from above.

So what has been the result of my three-day visit? I shall tell you about it and then wind up my address. I have already taken a lot of your time.

First and the most important point is, that the fifty to sixty lakhs of people in Calcutta have been terrorized by violence and riots. This can be stopped if you decide to stop it yourselves. Keep the police aside. I have worked for India and am working because I always had a trust and conviction in India's future. I am sure that the problems of Bengal shall be solved, but it is you who will have to solve them. We will only help Bengal in solving her problems. So, when I go back from here tomorrow, I shall not go with a troubled mind but with an assurance that people here understand the problems and will find out a solution for themselves, and form a Government of their choice. How will this be done and when; immediately or not, can be decided soon, after discussion. Now the question is how fast we shall be able to hold elections in Bengal and India and give a chance to the people to express their views. It is you ultimately, therefore, who have to decide.

On one or two questions I have not laid much stress today. I have told you that it is you who will have to stop corruption and black marketing. It is the prime duty of your Provincial Government to do it. I want to tell you that I have been thinking of big problems of India for the last many years. I had big plans in my mind. I do not know if you remember, that eleven years ago, when Subhas Chandra Bose was the President of the Congress, a National Planning Committee was formed, and I was nominated as its Chairman. My interest in planning and in making big plans after independence increased with my experience in this Committee. After independence when the time came for finalizing the plans and implementing them, the first plan we had to make immediately was to find solution to the problem of riots in the Punjab and other areas. How could we plan for the country when lakhs of people were migrating across the borders, and with rioting and bloodshed all over? I was then convinced that the first task of all provincial governments should be to face the immediate problems, including corruption and black marketing; and only later could we undertake new plans for development. We should work intelligently now and with clear hands. This is the first thing. Intelligence is necessary because only then big works can be undertaken. But more important than that is clear understanding and a clear heart. If you are not true to your work then intelligence is of no use. This is, then, the most important thing. I invite you to place before us any substantive complaint and I assure you of an enquiry. It is possible that your complaint may be wrong. I appeal to you not to spread rumours about corruption because that vitiates the atmosphere and encourages only rumour-mongers.

Secondly, I hope that rioting, violence and police firings will come to an end in Calcutta, which has already made Calcutta's name unpopular. I pray to you to help us in controlling this, and appeal to the policemen here that they should cooperate with the people, catch the culprits and not consider all people as their enemy. Everywhere, even in the police, there are good and bad people. On the other hand there has to be some force in any city to check those who break the law. There should be cooperation amongst you and the police and you should not consider them as your enemy. The police may commit mistakes even unintentionally, but they should work with public cooperation and not consider the people as their enemies. The British Raj is over now and it is the duty of the police only to serve. If you cannot serve the people then your work is unpardonable. If people get angry then we cannot function.

The people themselves should also realize that policemen are human beings. They also work hard and serve and if they err by mistake, they should not be taken as your enemy. You should consider them as your own and as your friend. In old days enmity with the police and the army was understandable because it was a British force. Today it is a national force.

What are your views today about our armed forces? I know that people all over India today are proud of their army. We praise them because it is our national army and they have shown their valour and capability. After the exit of British officers from the Indian Army, Indians undertook complete responsibility at a time when they had to face difficult problems of war in Kashmir and Hyderabad. I am just coming from Ladakh and you will be surprised to hear that our Army has pickets 15,000 feet to 17,000 feet above sea level, high up on the mountain peaks. Think of this because you and I cannot even breathe on those peaks. They stay in snow, day and night, keep a vigil over our boundaries in protection of India's freedom. In our hearts therefore, we are proud of our armed forces. Give a thought to our Army. We have men from all provinces in our Army stationed in Kashmir. I was surprised to see a soldier from Madras stationed in snow. When soldiers from Madras reached Kashmir they first thought that the soil there was white. You may laugh, but the fact is that soldiers from Madras who were never acclimatized to live in snow are facing with courage and with bravery the cold winds of Kashmir.

So you see that we now own an army which we did not consider as our national army earlier. We have to consider them as our own. After all there can be no country without a police or an army.

We do not want to make more mistakes even if we have committed some. We want to undertake work with full strength to solve our problems. As for refugees, we can solve their immediate problems, if first, they themselves try to stand on their own feet. Secondly, in each province autonomous squads should be formed who should have rights to serve the refugees independently in cooperation with the government. I want this problem to be handled by experts who are not involved in day to day petty problems of the government or influenced by party politics.

I am sorry to say that government officials get involved in petty details of notings on the files and there are unusually long delays in implementation of the programmes. Even with regard to the food problem we have experienced delays caused by this bureaucratic machinery. So I would like this problem of refugees to be dealt with in a new manner which I am sure would be successful. I have heard that here this new method of organization is being set up and I am sure it will expedite matters. But it is necessary that they function independently. I was informed here that some refugees have successfully organized themselves independently near Jadavpur, and at Shakti Nagar near Nadia without any outside help. By doing so not only will the refugees gain in strength but also the nation as a whole will become strong. It is no good being passive and expect government help. Government shall help as part of its duty but it does not have enough strength to rehabilitate and give work to all. So, I am sure you will help yourselves and help us in helping you.

I mentioned to you about the food problem which has been on our minds for long. The Bengal famine had consumed twenty to thirty lakhs of lives and later the partition and making of Pakistan has had its effect on food production. This year the crop has been bad because of the failure of monsoons. We have to live up to this problem. The food problem is the most important problem because we cannot afford starvation. We have to import wheat and rice to face this scarcity though it has a direct relationship with the problem of poverty. All our big plans about setting-up of industries and about rehabilitation of refugees have come to a standstill because import of foodgrains affects our foreign exchange reserves. This is not good. We should try to produce enough in our country to be at least self-sufficient. We are sure that if people cooperate in increasing the agricultural production by 8 to 10 per cent, then the problem of scarcity may be solved. This is not much and therefore not difficult. We have to increase production even in our kitchen gardens. Also there is a lot of waste—and I appeal to the middle classes, in particular, to think of the poor. I was told that people here get only 9 ounces of grains in ration. This is not much, and I am glad to learn that this is being increased to 13 ounces from 18th of this month. But please keep in mind two or three points.

Firstly, we have big plans before us. In two or three years we shall successfully complete the river valley projects of Damodar Valley, Mahanadi Scheme, Bhakra Dam and others all over the country, from south to north, and that shall bring lakhs of acres under irrigation. With the completion of canals we shall produce more food and also electricity. So we shall solve our food problem in 5 to 7 years. But we have immediate plans also to solve the food problem. I would like to inform you that we hope for an extensive and successful agriculture in the Rajasthan desert after it gets canal waters. That shall happen.

Secondly, I appeal to you not to waste food. In Bengal you are all rice eaters but I appeal to all those people here, particularly those who are from Uttar Pradesh

and Punjab, to eat more wheat and less rice. Those who can stay without rice should allow the rice eaters to have it. Well, rice is good and I like it too, though I have given up eating it and I am planning to stop taking wheat also. We should also take more of millet and maize which are more nourishing. Still better would be to eat more vegetables. I appeal to people here to grow more vegetables in their gardens. I understand that the Governor here has plans to do it in a big way at Raj Bhawan. So if you all help in a small measure it will add up to a big help.

The British Government in England had to face a bigger problem than this during the War. England does not produce much food, and has always been dependent upon imports. So when imports declined during the War they went all out to solve their problem by putting to use all available land for agriculture—in their parks, and lawns. They were successful in growing more food for their country. So, at this time, we should also do this, but we can do it only if people decide to follow it up. I have noticed that while people talk about this, they do not make any change in their approach towards life-style or eating habits. They give suggestions to others but they should also change their own life styles. After taking into account all these factors we have decided against import of foodgrains after two years.

I have taken about one and a half hours of your time. Please excuse me for this. Because I got a chance to come here after six months and I am not sure when I shall get a chance again. I shall return from here tomorrow morning and I hope I will not feel very worried in Delhi about Bengal. I have complete trust in the people of Calcutta that they will solve their immediate problems. We shall give help and continue to do so. So, with courage and strength face your problems and put an end to violence, and check corruption. It is you who have to take decisions and I do not want to take any decision from Delhi. It is the people of Bengal who should be responsible for their actions, not us. *Jai Hind*.

JN: Please keep quiet. I thank you, for keeping peace here at this big meeting. Now the meeting is over. I want to tell you that soon after my arrival here for this meeting, someone had thrown a bomb in which one policeman died and four to five persons were injured. What type of revolution or communism did they want to achieve by throwing a bomb at the policemen and on those who have come here to attend this meeting? It is something which is regrettable for you and me. But it is laudable that in spite of the bomb-throwing in which one policeman died our meeting was not disrupted and it continued peacefully. I want you to continue checking these juvenile people who do bad things. You are always angry with policemen—policemen do make mistakes, but then their lives are also always in danger. Please think about this for only then can you sympathize with them. *Jai Hind*.

11. Message to the People of Calcutta¹

I should like to express my deep gratitude to the people of Calcutta of all classes not only for the very warm welcome which they have accorded to me during this visit of mine but also for the perfect order that prevailed in the magnificent meeting that I was privileged to address this evening at the Maidan. The authorities deserve congratulations on the good arrangements made but it was really the public that maintained almost perfect order in spite of various attempts at disturbance. This meeting with its vast gathering in ordered array, representing the life and heart of this great city, will remain fixed in my memory for a long time.

I should like to express my appreciation and gratitude also to the authorities here and the police force for the way they managed great crowds and did so with quiet efficiency.

I feel sad that a police constable should have met his death and other constables should have been injured by a bomb thrown at them in the course of the meeting. I send my sympathy to the relatives of the deceased and those who were injured. This incident, sad as it was, was also significant in many ways. It showed how a handful of misguided persons can misbehave while vast crowds were peacefully sitting or standing. It was a small picture of Calcutta today. Calcutta is, as it has been, a peaceful city of busy folk carrying on their professions and avocations while just a few anti-social elements create trouble. We are apt to exaggerate this trouble and not to see it in proper perspective. I am quite sure that the people of Calcutta can put an end to this unhappy business if they decide to do so and not tolerate the kind of happening that has lowered the good name of this great city during the past few months. To the police I would say that they must consider themselves as servants of the people, as all of us are, and cooperate with them in maintaining peace and order without any excitement. The way the bomb and other incidents were dealt with, with quiet efficiency, without the least excitement was an example as to how things should be done. Right at the beginning of the meeting I heard and saw the bursting of a bomb. I did not know the results of this at that time. But even then I appreciated how even this disturbing incident had not upset either the police or the audience nearby. I was pleased at this. Later when I heard that the bomb had killed a police constable and injured several, I was sorry, but at the same time my appreciation for the behaviour of both the police and the public on this occasion grew. That is how we should all treat this incident, with firmness, with quiet efficiency, and in a cooperative way without the least rushing about in excitement.

1. Calcutta, 14 July 1949. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 15 July 1949.

I go back from Calcutta after my brief visit with a lighter heart and I am quite sure that conditions here will improve and that the people of Calcutta will no longer tolerate the anti-social elements who have sought to disturb their life. They, in common with all of us, have to face great problems. I can assure them that so far as we are concerned, either in the Central Government or in the Congress Working Committee, we shall give earnest attention to these problems and try to do our utmost to further their solution. That solution can only come with the cooperation of all and not by riot and disturbance and other kinds of mischief. I go back to report to my colleagues in the Congress Working Committee and the Central Government on what I have seen and heard in Calcutta. In consultation with them we shall come to decisions soon, I hope.

The city of Calcutta has a great reputation to keep up. In our nation's recent history the children of Calcutta have played a very great part in achieving freedom. In maintaining this freedom and in enlarging it in the economic and other domains we have a difficult task ahead. We shall succeed there also as we have succeeded in the past, and in this great effort Calcutta and West Bengal must, and I have no doubt, will play an effective part.

I should like to say a few words specially to the working classes of Calcutta and roundabout. In spite of sporadic troubles in Calcutta during the past few months the workers have remained calm and have refused to be disturbed or affected. I congratulate them on this.

I know that the conditions not only of the workers but even more so of the middle class here are very hard. It must be our earnest endeavour to improve these conditions and the burdens that they have to bear today.

Again, I repeat my deep gratitude to the millions of people who live in this great city for the love and affection that they have shown to me.

12. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
July 16, 1949

My dear Krishna,

You sent a telegram to Mathai just before I went to Calcutta expressing your concern and affection for me.² Evidently you expected this visit to be a stormy one. A little before I went to Calcutta, I was in far away Ladakh between the Himalayan and the Karakoram mountains and not far from the borders of Tibet. The change from

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Krishna Menon's cable of 10 July 1949 to M.O. Mathai read: "Please tell him that one wishes him great and wise resolve and strength this week, and feels confident that despite one's concern he will succeed."

Ladakh to Calcutta was about as big as anything could be in every way. I confess I felt more at home in Ladakh than in Calcutta.

The Calcutta visit was an eventful one and on the whole it rather pleased me. I had unusual experiences there. I have never addressed a bigger public meeting than I did in the Maidan at Calcutta.³ That in itself was an experience worth remembering. But when we add to that a bomb being thrown and killing people and revolvers being fired by excited young men, then it can certainly be said that the occasion was a unique one.

I was three days in Calcutta, very busy days, seeing hundreds of people. I found that the atmosphere of the city was turgid with mutual suspicion, jealousy, hatred and violence. Actually there was not much violence but there was enough of it to infect everything. Strange things happened from day to day. Half a dozen young men with revolvers or some kind of bombs would hold up a tram-car or a bus in the middle of the day in a popular thoroughfare, order the passengers to alight, and then set fire to the tram. The passengers would troop out sheepishly without a word of protest. Or a raid on a house or a police station, some looting and beating, and sometimes some shooting. It is extraordinary how many sten guns and bren guns are about in the hands of these young people. The effect on the police was marked. They were continually in a state of acute nervous tension, not knowing when some such attack might come. And so even when there was a slight disturbance, their nerves gave way and they pulled the trigger. The usual way of attacking the police was to throw bombs at them or acid bulbs. Quite a number of people have died as a result of this. The public generally were inert and passive, disliking this violence, of course, but not quite knowing what to do, and disliking at the same time the police and the Government.

Something rather new has grown up in Bengal, a combination of the old Bengal terrorism and communism. This communistic terrorism or terroristic communism is a bad thing altogether. The Bengali terrorist mentality of extreme emotionalism colours their so-called communist viewpoint and makes them look sometimes quite insane. There is a wildness and an intense hatred looking out of their eyes. In Hyderabad too, there was this mixture of communism and terrorism, but it was somewhat different. Over three hundred, mostly State Congress workers there, were killed individually. It was the peasant communist that was functioning there. In Bengal it is the middle class or the lower middle class that have taken to this new method of converting or coercing people.

Remember the background of this. Enormous unemployment among these middle classes and the vast numbers of graduates who can find no suitable jobs and who are generally incapable of any manual effort. All they want is some place in an office. The Bengali, more than others in India, is the *babu* and disdains manual labour. Because of this, by far the greater number of industrial workers in the

3. Nearly one million people attended the public meeting at the Brigade Parade Ground.

Calcutta region come from other provinces. It was curious to notice that in these troubles and conflicts in Calcutta the industrial workers hardly took any part. Almost entirely the people who functioned were young Bengali men and women of the lower middle class or students. Many of them call themselves communists, but their whole outlook was far more fascist. Probably altogether they do not number more than a thousand in a city of five millions.

There are other splinter groups, quite a number of them, whose names even I cannot remember. They call themselves revolutionary socialists or revolutionary communists or something else. They criticize communism, but join hands in this violence. All this gets a measure of passive support from the public, partly through fear and partly through dissatisfaction with the Provincial Government. Sarat Bose's overwhelming victory represented this tide of dissatisfaction. Almost everyone who voted for Sarat says more or less openly that he has no regard for Sarat's politics or opinion, but he wanted to show his dissatisfaction with the present Government and the Bengal Congress. As a matter of fact, even so, Sarat could not have won easily but for the mutual rivalries amongst Congressmen in Bengal. Even the election could not suppress them and some of them actually refused to work for the Congress candidate, because they thought that he belonged to the rival group. There was no electioneering, not even proper election agents, and it is said that there was a great deal of bogus and duplicate voting for Sarat, because there was no one to change it. However, it is undoubted that there is this great dissatisfaction with the Congress and the Provincial Government and Sarat Bose's supporters capitalize on that. During his election these so-called communists and others functioned as gunmen all over the place terrorising any person who did not fall in line with them.

This was the background of my visit to Calcutta. All these various small groups in Calcutta, including the Communists of course, carried on propaganda for nearly two weeks proclaiming a boycott of my visit and of my functions and in some leaflets asking for my extermination by violent means. Some of these leaflets were quite astonishingly bad and preached open murder of "the murderer Nehru". People got so frightened because of this that there was a continuous stream of letters, telegrams and telephones to me and others here asking me to cancel my visit.

Of course there was no question of cancelling my visit and all this made me even more determined to go. The Calcutta police naturally took extra precautions. But as a matter of fact what surprised everybody was the tremendous popular welcome that I got. Occasionally people threw stones at me. But this time there was a marked difference. Before the police could intervene, the crowd got hold of the stone-thrower and gave him a hiding.⁴

4. Stones and shoes were thrown at Nehru's car at the Shyambazar crossing in North Calcutta as he drove through the city from Dum Dum Airport.

I found that the police were in an excited state and that of course was no good at all. So for three days I went on repeating to them "do not get excited." More especially I told them that at the public meeting they must not get excited, whatever happened, including murder. They must not run about or whistle, but remain where they were till each individual was given a special order. I added further that I would give the orders from the rostrum if necessary and nobody else could intervene. They carried out my directions to the letter and even when a policeman was killed by a bomb and several were injured, there was not a trace of excitement and nobody moved from his position. Quietly some stretcher bearers came and took the wounded away to the hospital. Quietly the man who threw the bomb was arrested and taken away. I did not even stop speaking. Other attempts at interruption and mischief took place, but they were rather lost in that huge crowd and I am afraid the mischief-makers had rather a bad time from the crowd. At the fringe of the meeting there was more mischief and some revolver play. That too did not interfere with the meeting. Indeed it was much too far off.

Those who had asked for a boycott of this meeting announced their own meeting in another place.⁵ I told the police to allow this meeting to be held, although it was in contravention of the orders issued. After the meeting these people or some of them marched to the Maidan meeting and created trouble. That was easily dealt with.

It was really extraordinary how our great meeting continued with hardly a ripple in spite of these disturbances. I stopped only once for perhaps a minute, when there was shouting going on in a corner and to give instructions to the crowd. For the rest both I and the crowd ignored the disturbances. It was a remarkable example of disciplined behaviour in the face of provocation.

I am writing all this to you to give you just some idea of the kind of things we have to contend against here. West Bengal and especially Calcutta is a rather extreme example and the Bengalis today are generally speaking, frustrated and neurotic. But to a lesser degree this kind of thing occurs in other parts of India also. This growth of violence and utter vulgarity is most distressing. It is not much. But even the little that there is vitiates the atmosphere. Then there are the squabbles among Congressmen, the lust for power and position, mutual conflicts and running each other down. Everybody who is in the opposition shouts about corruption. Of course there is plenty of corruption. But the way people talk about it is fantastic. Again and again I demand specific instances and I get none or very few, rather minor ones. When Congressmen condemn other Congressmen, then of course the public is convinced that the whole show is corrupt and bad. Our worst provinces at present are Bengal, Madras, East Punjab. On the whole East Punjab is slightly looking up.

5. Radical students organizations had jointly convened a meeting at Wellington Square to coincide with Nehru's meeting.

My visit to Calcutta has undoubtedly done good and improved the air there. The sense of fear, as at an approaching doom, has somewhat lessened and these violent elements have been shown up. The general public has gained some confidence and is not so afraid of them and has realized how few the mischief-makers are. The Congress people, I hope, have got a shock and they are likely to get some more in the future from what we propose to do. We cannot possibly allow this gradual deterioration of the Congress everywhere, due chiefly to jealousy, petty-mindedness and desire for office.

This is just the kind of thing that suits Sarat Bose and no doubt he will make the most of it. The mere fact that a man like Sarat Bose should come to the front shows the present condition of the human soil in India. I do not attach much importance to him, nor does anyone else. He has a certain nuisance value and normally the best way to deal with him is to leave him to his own resources. But the fact remains that many things are happening in India which are most disheartening. The U.P., my own province, is showing some signs of disintegration in the Congress and a new group has just been formed.⁷ Pantji⁸ is very unhappy about it. There is no principle behind all this, only personal rivalries.

I propose to remain in Delhi for some time now, as we are having meetings of the Working Committee and of the Premiers and of the Constituent Assembly soon.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

7. The "Keep Straight" group of about sixty members was formed in the Uttar Pradesh Congress Legislative Party to fight corruption.
8. G.B. Pant, Premier of the United Provinces at this time.

13. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
July 17, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a rough draft of the resolution on West Bengal. I have tried to put in all the points mentioned today. It is not a piece of good drafting and it can be improved upon.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

Enclosure¹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made a report to the Working Committee about the situation in West Bengal and informed them of the impressions he had gathered during his three-day stay in Calcutta and the many people he had met there. The Committee considered the matter fully and were of opinion that it was desirable to have fresh elections, both for the West Bengal Legislative Assembly and the West Bengal Congress organization, so that the people of West Bengal could have an early opportunity to elect people of their choice. It was pointed out that elections under the new Constitution and with adult franchise would in all likelihood be held at the end of 1950 or the beginning of 1951. It was not possible to hold them earlier as the new voters' rolls could not be prepared, nor could other necessary arrangements be made before the end of 1950. Any election for the Legislative Assembly that was held before these new electoral rolls were ready must therefore necessarily be on the basis of the Government of India Act 1935 and the existing electoral rolls.

Full elections for the Congress from the primary committees upwards also appear to be difficult to organize till the new electoral rolls have been prepared. The old rolls are completely out of date and are sometimes not available.

The Working Committee therefore resolves:

(1) That the West Bengal Legislative Assembly should be dissolved and that fresh elections be held before the end of 1949 on the basis of the Government of India Act, 1935.

(2) If it is possible, these elections should provide for joint electorates with reservation of seats. If, however, this is not feasible or involves delay, then the existing system should be followed during these elections. Existing electoral rolls should be revised as far as possible so as to provide for the enrolment of refugees from East Pakistan, who were voters in East Bengal and who have definitely settled in West Bengal and can show a residence qualification of at least six months.

(3) During the period preceding the general elections for the Assembly in the Province, it is necessary that an interim ministry be formed. Such a ministry should consist of the best available talents and may include persons who are not at present members of the West Bengal Assembly.

(4) The Congress Party in the West Bengal Assembly should refer to the Central Parliamentary Board for their approval any proposal in this behalf.

1. New Delhi, 17 July 1949. The resolution was passed on 28 July 1949 by the Working Committee.

(5) In view of the proposed general elections in the Province for the Assembly, pending bye-elections need not take place.

(6) A new Executive Committee of the West Bengal P.C.C. should be formed. It should represent adequately the different elements in the Party. This Executive Committee should have a small Working Committee also representative of different elements in the Party.

(7) In the event of a satisfactory new Executive Committee and a Working Committee not being formed, the present members of the All India Congress Committee from West Bengal should form the Executive of the P.C.C., till other arrangements are made.

(8) In case any difficulties arise in the cooperative functioning of the Congress organization in West Bengal, the Working Committee will take such other steps as they may deem fit.

(9) In the selection of candidates for the general elections for the Provincial Assembly, the Central Parliamentary Board will cooperate with the Executive of the P.C.C. and will be finally responsible.

(10) With reference to the complaint that certain co-opted members to the P.C.C. from East Bengal do not conform to the conditions laid down for such co-option, the Committee directs that a thorough scrutiny be held forthwith and those who do not clearly establish that they fulfil the conditions and that they were in residence in West Bengal for six months before the co-option took place, should cease to be members of the P.C.C.

14. Cable to B.C. Roy¹

Your telegram² dated 16th July through Indembassy Rome. Regret your inability to return to India for consultations on vital issues confronting West Bengal. Regret also your statement made in Naples as reported in press to effect that no question of general election in Bengal at present.

Working Committee has discussed West Bengal situation at length. They have

1. New Delhi, 19 July 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. In response to Nehru's telegram of 15 July 1949 asking him to return to India, as the operation on his eyes had been postponed, Roy replied that he could not do so as the doctors had advised him full rest and continuing treatment for five weeks.

deferred final decision in hope of consulting you, but such decision cannot be delayed long. We are inviting representatives of your Ministry and Bengal Congress to Delhi on 27th July for final consultation. Decisions will follow soon after.

Committee feel that situation in West Bengal both in regard to Government and Congress is grave and cannot be allowed to drift. There is considerable dissatisfaction among people against both and complaints are numerous. No government can function effectively in these circumstances and it is undesirable to give impression that government continues regardless of public opinion. Therefore Working Committee, as at present advised, consider that people of West Bengal must be given a chance of fresh elections in spite of manifest inconveniences involved. Committee therefore proposed that West Bengal Legislative Assembly should be dissolved and fresh elections held before the end of 1949 on the basis of Government of India Act, 1935. Meanwhile old electoral rolls should be revised. During the period preceding elections for Assembly in Province an interim ministry should be formed consisting of best available talent and including, if necessary, persons who are not at present members of the Assembly. Such interim ministry should be formed after approval of Central Parliamentary Board.

New Executive Committee of West Bengal Provincial Congress should be formed representing adequately different elements in the Party. Also representative small Working Committee should be formed.

In the event of satisfactory Executive of Congress not being formed, present members of All India Congress Committee from West Bengal should form the Executive. In case any difficulties arise in cooperative functioning of Congress organization in West Bengal, Working Committee will take other necessary steps.

These are the lines on which Working Committee is thinking. They take serious view of the situation both from Bengal and all-India points of view and consider that drastic steps are necessary to meet it. I should like to have your views on the above proposals.

15. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
July 25, 1949

Nan dear,

. . . I have not written to you for a little while, as we are up to our eyes in meetings, conferences and other work. The Constituent Assembly starts soon for more or less its final lap. This will be an additional burden. Probably it will take up the whole of August.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

I wonder what you are doing with my proposed programme for the U.S. I have left this to you, though of course I should like to see it before it is finalized. As at present advised, Indu and Mathai will go with me.

You might have read reports of my visit to Calcutta, etc. I do not know what kind of reports appeared in the American press. Probably the bomb incident was played up and dramatized. As a matter of fact it had little importance and rather brought out the amazing success of the colossal meeting that I held and addressed for an hour and forty minutes, without interruption. My visit was a remarkable success and since then Calcutta has been outwardly peaceful....

Yours,
Jawahar

16. To N.R. Sarkar¹

New Delhi
August 9, 1949

My dear Nalini Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th August.

As the police firing on women in April last is now the subject of an enquiry in the Coroner's Court, we must necessarily wait for the result of this enquiry.² After receiving the Coroner's verdict, etc., these papers as well as all other relevant papers should be examined, as you suggest, by a judge of the High Court. There is no question of another open enquiry.

About the enquiry into the jail firings, I do not myself think that there is any major difficulty about having a High Court judge to enquire into it rather informally.³ But in this matter, I think you might discuss it with the Chief Justice⁴ and find out what his advice is. If he agrees with you that an enquiry by the Commissioner of the Presidency Division would be better, then you can go ahead with this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. N.R. Sarkar Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Sarkar drew Nehru's attention to the legal opinion that a full-fledged enquiry by a High Court judge was not required as the matter was being looked into by the Coroner's Court.

3. Sarkar had stated that his officials were against any enquiry by the High Court judge as "it would perhaps prove awkward to associate a High Court judge with such an 'executive' enquiry."

4. Arthur Trevor Harries.

PROVINCIAL AND STATE AFFAIRS

II. Punjab

1. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1949

My dear Sachar,

I have been receiving reports about certain happenings in East Punjab, and notably the functioning of Government there, which have distressed me. These reports have reached me from our Home Ministry and from other sources. I might make it perfectly clear that the Governor² of East Punjab has not written to me on this subject at all; nor have any of your Ministers or officials. You must appreciate that the position of East Punjab is very peculiar and very special. That is so not only because of the upheaval caused there after the partition and the tremendous refugee problem, but even more so because it is a frontier province now. Owing to the Kashmir trouble continuing, we do not know when a grave emergency might arise. If this happens, obviously East Punjab is immediately affected. Therefore, we cannot possibly take any risks about East Punjab, and it is important for us to avoid anything happening there, governmentally or otherwise, which might come in our way during an emergency. It is for this reason that we have taken very special interest in East Punjab politics and affairs. It is for this reason also that after the partition we sent one of our most experienced officers as Governor. In a sense, East Punjab occupies the position of the old North West Frontier Province, but with this addition that a war has actually taken place near its borders in Kashmir and the position there remains tense. We have, therefore, to consider every question in East Punjab with this all-India background and the possibility of crises suddenly facing us.

I have an impression that this is not sufficiently realized by the East Punjab Government or the Congress there. If it had been realized, they would not pay so much attention to minor matters and internal conflicts. You have seen in South Calcutta what internal conflicts lead to. Undoubtedly the position has deteriorated there because of party faction in the Congress. There is a danger of East Punjab going the same way unless we wake up to the situation. Indeed, the position in East Punjab would be worse than in West Bengal because of Pakistan and Kashmir.

It was because of all these reasons that we considered the formation of a composite Ministry under your leadership very necessary in East Punjab. That was

1. Bhimsen Sachar Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. C.M. Trivedi.

done, though unfortunately it was not done very gracefully.³ I understand now that though there is this composite Ministry, it hardly functions together or as a team, and in fact there is continuous friction between the rival groups in it. I am even told that you and Dr Gopichand⁴ are not on speaking terms with each other. This is an extraordinary state of affairs. How can a Ministry function in this way and how can a Premier function if he does not take his colleagues into his confidence? I am not concerned with the measure of fault on either side. Ultimately it is the responsibility of the Premier as to how his Ministry functions. Even if the error happens to be on the other side, nevertheless the responsibility of the Premier remains and he has to demonstrate that he is big enough to hold his Ministry together as a team and make it function effectively.

If there are rival groups in the Ministry, they nullify, to a large extent, the work of Government. Also the official machinery of Government cannot function effectively, as these officials are put in an impossible position. I am even told that senior officials have been told not to give particular information to some Ministers. In particular, that Dr Gopichand has been treated very casually and curtly by you, and even in small matters continuous distrust is shown and sometimes even discourtesy. If this is so, I must say that I am surprised at all this pettiness.

I wrote to you some days ago⁵ pointing out that the removal of refugees who have been settled on the land, was undesirable. I have been surprised to learn that your Government has actually asked the military to keep eight and a half battalions ready for emergencies to assist in such removal. This is an astonishing approach to this problem. You want a whole army for the purpose of resettling refugees. There must be something very radically wrong about your Government's approach if armies are required for this purpose.

I do not know what your relations are with your Governor. As I have said above, we sent him there because we thought him specially suited to help any Government there. I would, therefore, strongly advise you to consult him in regard to your major problems. In any event, the relations between the Ministers and the Governor should be made as precise as possible. This is not necessary if there is friendly cooperation. Otherwise it is very necessary that each party should know where it stands. Thus

3. All four Ministers in Bhimsen Sachar's first Cabinet sworn in on 13 April 1949 were drawn from his group. This was contrary to the directive of the Congress Parliamentary Board which had insisted on a formula of three Hindus, three Sikhs and one Harijan, four of these to be from the Sachar group and three from the dissenting group, excluding the Harijan Minister. On 15 August the Board stipulated that the East Punjab Ministry consist of seven Ministers including the Premier, two of whom were to be taken from the dissident group and selected on the Board's advice. The Premier was free to select three others of his choice from the remaining five. One minister was to be a Harijan. The previous understanding that Kartar Singh was to be left out of the Ministry had to remain in force.
4. Minister for Finance in Sachar's Cabinet.
5. On 8 June 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 11, pp. 240-241.

far, no question has arisen about the Governor's relations with his Ministers in the East Punjab. But apparently these questions are now arising and it might be necessary to have a clear definition.

What I am most concerned with is that owing to tension at the top, and conflicting orders, I understand the Secretariat at Simla is getting demoralized. If this process is not checked, your Government will not be able to do anything effective.

One incident has been brought to my notice, and I am told that this has become rather notorious in the Province. This is the case of an assault on a police constable in Ambala.⁶ Apparently, the principal accused in this case is an agent of Sardar Baldev Singh. I am told that the Superintendent of Police at Ambala, Ashwani Kumar, was suddenly transferred to Ferozepur because of this case. Further, that the District Magistrate⁷ took rather an unusual interest in this case and actually wrote a note which could hardly be termed as impartial. I am very much disturbed over this matter, because if once people feel that justice is not done because persons in high places are concerned, then the reputation of the Government collapses. I should be glad to have from you some information about this Ambala case and why the Superintendent of Police was transferred. Also the part that the District Magistrate has taken in this business.

I have written to you quite frankly because I wish to help you in putting East Punjab in order. I think you can do it if you set about it in the right way. But it would be unfortunate if the reputation of your Government suffers at this stage and it is said that justice is not done because of powerful influences. It would be still more unfortunate if your Cabinet cannot function together and your Secretariat goes to pieces.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. On 20 February 1949, a police constable proceeding ahead of the Superintendent of Police, Ambala, was assaulted by a group of people near Mubarakpur. The group leader and four of his relatives were arrested by the Superintendent. The District Magistrate immediately issued orders for their release and the Superintendent was transferred to Rohtak. The transfer was cancelled by Sachar when his Ministry took over, and he was later posted to Ferozepur District.

7. M.S. Randhawa.

2. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1949

My dear Sachar,

I have sent you a long letter today.² There is, however, another matter, which has troubled me and about which, therefore, I have decided to write to you.

You told me about the steel quota scandal³ and I encouraged you to proceed with the enquiry into this regardless as to who is involved in it. I am glad you are proceeding with it.

But there is one aspect which has to be borne in mind. Articles have appeared in the press⁴ and I have received news from other sources too, that this enquiry is being conducted on what might be called 'party lines'. That is, advantage is being taken of this to attack and discredit the rival party. Further, I understand that the police is taking advantage of this situation to run down prominent Congressmen.⁵ It is reported that some third degree methods have been employed by the police to get confessions.

Now obviously I am not in a position to know the truth or falsehood of these various statements. But it is a bad thing if any large section of the public believes in such charges or criticisms. The head of a Government must function above party and must not allow the slightest breath of partiality to affect his action or his reputation. I hope you will look into this matter and proceed quite impartially. Also it is worth looking into that the police do not exploit the situation to their own advantage just to discredit people whom they dislike.

There has been some reference also to refugee quota holders. I am not quite clear about this matter. I am told that the East Punjab Government came to some decision in regard to refugee quota holders on the 13th December 1948. Does this decision affect the present matter in any way?

I must make it clear that I am not writing to you with the intention of making you slacken in your desire to end corruption. I am eager that every possible step

1. Bhimsen Sachar Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See the preceding item.

3. The East Punjab Government issued permits for the purchase of steel most of which were obtained by bogus firms. A drive was launched on 26 May 1949 to check the corruption as most of the steel was being sold in the black market. A total of 4,900 permits were investigated. The shops of some of the leading citizens and members of the East Punjab Assembly allegedly involved in the scandal were raided.

4. The *Daily Pratap* and *Tej* reported that the enquiry was on factional lines, and protested against the police excesses against quota holders.

5. Among those accused of holding bogus quotas were close associates and relatives of Gopichand Bhargava, and Kartar Singh accused the Sachar Government of singling out Sikhs in the anti-corruption drive.

should be taken for this. But this should be done in an impartial way and not with a motive to protect those who belong to one group and to discredit those who belong to another group. If this is done, then every group and every prominent man will suffer and will be discredited.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To C.M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
July 27, 1949

My dear Trivedi,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th July enclosing a copy of a letter to your Premier. I entirely agree with you in what you say about withdrawal of pending criminal prosecutions. Few things are more conducive to damaging the prestige of Government as a feeling that partiality is shown in this matter. If after due enquiry a case is instituted, it should not be withdrawn unless the reasons for doing so are obvious and can be substantiated.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

4. To C.M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
August 5, 1949

My dear Trivedi,

I have repeatedly written to your Premier telling him how undesirable it was to allow ejection of tenants from their holdings. This kind of thing was stopped long

1. J.N. Collection.

ago in several provinces. When we are talking about the abolition of the zamindari system, the ejectment of tenants is completely out of place and is bound to lead to trouble.

I was surprised and distressed to hear that you were not in favour of stopping this ejectment of tenants. Whether this news was correct or not, I do not know. But I thought I should convey it to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

PROVINCIAL AND STATE AFFAIRS

III. Assam

1. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1949

My dear Prakasa,

I have today received four letters from you dated 16th June. Thank you for them.

In one of them you refer to Rani Gaidiliu.² I have again written about her to Bardoloi.³ I am glad you are taking this matter in hand. If there is any risk in her going to the Nagas, she might be asked to stay away. But otherwise she should be freed.

I am afraid that the zamindari system was doomed anyhow, whatever its virtues might have been. You must have seen the new U.P. Bill.⁴ It is very ingenious and I think, on the whole, good.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Naga rebel leader against the British; was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1933. Released from jail in 1944, she was interned in a village in Naga Hills under severe restrictions which were lifted by the Assam Government on 9 July 1949.
3. See the next item.
4. The U.P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reform Bill, introduced in the U.P. Assembly on 7 July 1949, provided for acquisition of the rights of the intermediaries by the State through payment of compensation, and introduction of a uniform land tenure.

2. To Gopinath Bardoloi¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1949

My dear Bardoloi,

I am very glad to learn from your Governor that the restrictions on Rani Gaidiliu have at last been ended. I am quite convinced that it has been a monstrous thing for a woman to be kept in prison and under restrictions for 18 long years. Nothing can justify it. I say so after having read all the papers and heard all the arguments not today only but for all these years.

Sri Prakasa is giving her Rs 500. It would have been a graceful thing for the Assam Government to have done so. But as this was not considered proper, I have sent a cheque for Rs 500 to Sri Prakasa.

1. J.N. Collection.

Sri Prakasa has also suggested that her pension should be increased to Rs 75 per month. I understand that the Assam Government is not willing to give this even.² I confess I am surprised. However it is for you to decide. If the Assam Government will not give it, some of us will arrange to give it out of our private pockets. The sum is not a big one anyhow. But it would be a graceless thing if a Government which has kept a woman in prison for 18 years object to paying her this pension now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Assam Government later on agreed to give the pension.

3. To Gopinath Bardoloi¹

New Delhi
August 7, 1949

My dear Bardoloi,

I have received a telegram from the so-called Sibsagar public protesting against Rohini Kumar Choudhury² for something he has said.³ I do not know what this is all about.

But I do wish to write to you very strongly that Assam is gaining no credit whatever by her narrow-minded policy in regard to refugees and others. I have recently heard that a railway scheme is being held up because Assam objects to Bengalis being employed there. This simply means that Assam will have to be left out of consideration in our general schemes of progress. It is not possible to have it both ways. Either Assam shifts for herself or she shares the burden of India and gets help from India.

There is also another very odd proposal of a dual citizenship in Assam, whatever that might mean. I suppose one of these days we might be asked for the independence of Assam.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. (1889-1955); member, Assam Legislature, 1927-45; Minister in Assam Government, 1937-38, 1939-41 and 1945-46; member, Central Legislature, 1946, Constituent Assembly, 1947-50, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, Lok Sabha, 1952-55.
3. On 25 July 1949 he said at Shillong that "no amount of cry against the refugees would ever take away their fundamental right to become citizens of India. Any refugee who wants to be a citizen of India and of Assam cannot be prevented from acquiring such rights."

4. To Gopinath Bardoloi¹

New Delhi
August 7, 1949

My dear Bardoloi,

I have written a brief letter² separately to you today. I have now before me a copy of a letter sent by the Chief Secretary³ to the Government of Assam to the Secretary of the Ministry of Rehabilitation, New Delhi. This is number C(RR) 249/6 dated 20th July. This relates to the building up of a township in connection with railway colonies.⁴ Your Chief Secretary has informed us that the Government of Assam are unable to agree to this proposal for reasons of internal security. Their reasons are that many Bengalis will be employed by the railways, Bengalis are usually Communists and therefore likely to give trouble. This argument leads us to curious results. It means that we should not employ Bengalis anywhere in India, as communism might spread because Bengalis might be presumed to be Communists. I can understand your pointing out that Communists should not be employed and every care should be taken to this end. But to dub all Bengalis as Communists is carrying things too far.

When I was in Calcutta last, I found very strong feeling against the anti-Bengali sentiment in Assam and numerous instances were given to me. This is a most undesirable development and I fear that Assam will suffer if this kind of thing continues. If Assam wants to follow a narrow provincial policy excluding others, there are bound to be reactions against Assam in other parts of India. It will be difficult for the Central Government to have any major scheme in Assam. I want you and your Government to consider carefully the consequences of this policy. The Central Government cannot possibly encourage acute form of provincialism anywhere in India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See the preceding item.
3. S.L. Mehta.
4. At Pandu.

PROVINCIAL AND STATE AFFAIRS
IV. Madras

1. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja¹

New Delhi
July 27, 1949

My dear Premier,

The Working Committee have given a great deal of thought to certain charges² brought by Shri T. Prakasam and others against the ministers of the previous Madras Government. They have also considered a report³ of Shri Shankerrao Deo in regard to these matters. Your letter of 25 July was also placed before them.

The Committee have come to certain conclusions⁴ of which you were informed when you were invited to meet the members of the Committee. I shall write to you more fully about these in the course of a day or two. I shall also communicate the decisions of the Working Committee to Shri T. Prakasam. Meanwhile I am writing to you more or less briefly to indicate to you what these conclusions are, so that there might be no other delay in dealing with this matter.

The charges against some of the Ministers and members of the Madras Legislature do not concern you directly as Premier and refer to a period prior to the assumption of your present office. They refer to some ex-ministers and to some persons who were Ministers in the previous Government and continue to be Ministers now in the Madras Government. While you are not directly concerned as Premier or otherwise with these old charges, nevertheless, as the present Premier of Madras, it seems to us right and proper that these matters should come to us through you and after you have dealt with them.

The Working Committee have decided to nominate one or more persons to enquire into such charges as are *prima facie* deserving of enquiry. But before that they would request you to take certain steps which are indicated below.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. On 18 July 1949 Prakasam gave a new list of charges against ex-Ministers of Madras to the Congress Working Committee. The Committee was already going through a report by Shankarrao Deo, appointed earlier to enquire into the charges levelled by 24 M.L.As. in April 1948 against Ministers in O.P. Ramaswami Reddiar's Government.
3. Shankarrao Deo in his report stated that most of the charges were "too vague" and could not be enquired into; emphasized the need for better education for non-Brahmins and strengthening of "national forces to overcome communal forces"; rejected the charge that Ministers intentionally took any action against non-Brahmins; disagreed that the actions of the Ministers had undermined and demoralised the judiciary; and argued that a "detailed enquiry either of a judicial or of a semi-judicial nature, private or public, into the allegations made against some of the Congress Ministers" be initiated.
4. The resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed on 27 July agreed with Shankarrao Deo's report that charges without foundation be dropped, while those deserving further enquiry be first investigated by the Premier of Madras and later by "persons of repute" appointed by the Committee.

The charges made by Shri T. Prakasam and others are given in a separate list which is being sent to you. These include a number of complaints about certain political matters involving political policies. Such matters are obviously not capable of enquiry except on political grounds by the Central Parliamentary Board or the Working Committee. Normally the Working Committee or the Central Parliamentary Board do not interfere with the day to day working of a provincial government. They respect the autonomy of that government and all that they are interested in is that the wider and basic policies of the Congress should be pursued and that the Government should be run in a manner which is efficient and which gives no rise for complaints of corruption in the administration. Thus these political matters need not be dealt with by you at all. They should be separated from Shri Prakasam's list. It is indeed not possible to enquire into them without going deeply into a number of political issues. The supercession of a municipality involves an enquiry into its administration for a lengthy period. The Working Committee or the Central Parliamentary Board cannot normally undertake these enquiries and they must leave all such matters to the discretion of the local government. For these reasons a number of charges included in Shri Prakasam's list should be separated as not falling in the purview of the present enquiry. These items are indicated separately.

In regard to most of the other items, Shri Shankerrao Deo has already enquired and presented a report. That report is not complete and has not thus far been shown formally to Shri T. Prakasam. It is necessary that that report be sent to Shri T. Prakasam and his colleagues for their comments.

There are some new charges included in the list of Shri Prakasam, which were not there in the previous list. We propose however to include them in the present enquiry, as we do not wish to shut out any relevant charge.

We suggest to you to take this list of charges and enquire into them yourself from the relevant files and papers in your offices. We should like all the facts to be clearly stated. We should then like you to inform Shri T. Prakasam or anyone he may nominate to consider your note as regards the facts, etc. If he raises any further points in regard to these facts, you can further look into the matter. We should like to have the facts in regard to each charge succinctly stated so that both you and Shri Prakasam are in agreement about these facts. If there is any disagreement, it might be noted.

In this way we want a note from you dealing with all these charges factually and we want Shri Prakasam to agree with it as far as possible and where there is a difference, his opinions to be noted.

It may be that when all the facts are brought out, certain misconceptions and misapprehensions might be removed. In any event we shall have definite facts to deal with and not vague apprehensions and charges. The matter can then be easily enquired into further and finally decided by the persons the Working Committee nominates in this behalf. If necessary, any particular matter can be referred to

the Working Committee, if it has any political significance or if it involves any further step to be taken.

We are anxious that this matter should be proceeded with without delay and therefore we request you to get in touch with Shri Prakasam and his colleagues as soon as possible and invite him to discuss with you any charges or any replies to them. We expect that this procedure will not take more than a fortnight. This will obviate any lengthy or detailed enquiry later and the questions for decision will be narrowed down and can be dealt with easily. You will of course be helped by the report of Shri Shankerrao Deo.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Shri T. Prakasam, together with a copy of Shri Shankerrao Deo's report.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Telegram to T. Prakasam¹

Your telegram to Sardar Patel.² No charges against any individual have been dropped as such. Full Working Committee's resolution had been sent to you and published in the press. The Working Committee do not consider that charges such as those relating to supercession of some municipalities are capable of inquiry in this way. Nor do they consider it desirable that they should interfere in the normal working of the provincial autonomy. Applying this principle, the Committee have indicated which of the charges are not capable of present inquiry.

1. New Delhi, 2 August 1949. From the *National Herald*, 4 August 1949.

2. Prakasam had asked "if charges against Kala Venkatarao were dropped by you or the Working Committee." He sent copies of this telegram to Nehru, Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Azad.

3. Telegram to T. Prakasam¹

Am surprised to find that you have given publicity to my telegram to you in reply to your message to Sardar Patel. Working Committee has made it clear previously that no such newspaper argument should be carried on. More especially when Working Committee was seized of this matter and has referred it to Madras Premier for early report. Any publication of intermediate correspondence is undesirable.

1. New Delhi, 4 August 1949. J.N. Collection.

4. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja¹

New Delhi
August 9, 1949

My dear Premier,

I have your letter of the 7th enclosing a copy of a letter addressed to Kala Venkatarao.

It was not our intention that you should give particulars for a complete scrutiny of official files and papers by Shri Prakasam and his colleagues. Since they have made a charge, it is upto them to establish it. If a reference to a particular paper is necessary, we may give them that facility. But it certainly is not necessary or desirable for them to hunt for evidence all over the official papers. Will you please, therefore, try to limit this examination and not allow it to go on indefinitely? If the first date of 15th August is not enough, at the most it can be extended by a week or so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

PROVINCIAL AND STATE AFFAIRS
V. Bihar

1. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
July 10, 1949

My dear Premier,

Thank you for your letter of the 4th July. I was a little surprised to read it. I am not in the habit of listening to vague charges. But I am greatly concerned at the reputation of our Congress Ministries. I have previously written² to you about what is called the molasses scandal.³ When such charges are made, there should invariably be a full public enquiry. In regard to the Bettiah Estate⁴ also, serious charges have been made in newspapers and elsewhere. In fact the matter came up before the Working Committee and was referred by it to Sardar Patel for enquiry. It can hardly be said therefore that vague charges have been made. As Sardar Patel is enquiring into this matter, I need say no more.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. On 18 June 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 11, pp. 224-225.
3. There were charges against Congressmen using their influence to obtain permits for the distribution of molasses.
4. In 1947 some 2,000 *bighas* of land of the Bettiah Court of Wards were settled in favour of prominent citizens of Bihar among whom were a number of Congress M.L.As. and sons of Ministers. An enquiry was ordered into the settlement by the Home Ministry in June 1949.

PROVINCIAL AND STATE AFFAIRS
VI. Hyderabad, Travancore and Cochin

1. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

I understand that the *Daily Worker* has launched an attack against Indian Government² for our policy in Hyderabad and more especially in regard to eight death sentences passed recently.³ It is made out that peasant leaders have been sentenced for their part in a peasant agitation.

This is fantastic nonsense. In Warangal and Nalgonda there have been a succession of murders during the past many months.⁴ Several hundred of our public workers who were sent there were murdered in cold blood. For the first time some people, against whom evidence was available for these murders, were tried by a special Tribunal on a murder charge under ordinary civil law. They were sentenced to death for murder. That sentence is under appeal now and after that it is going to be reviewed by the Governor.

To say that this is an offensive against the peasant movement is a complete falsehood, unless the peasant movement is supposed to be synonymous with cold-blooded murder.

As a matter of fact considerable agrarian reforms have already been introduced in Hyderabad⁵ and a high-level committee is considering basic and far-reaching reforms. There is general satisfaction in the peasantry because of these measures. The Nizam's estates have been taken over completely.

Indian military forces are hardly operating in these particular areas. It is mostly the police that is functioning now.

1. New Delhi, 21 June 1949. J.N. Collection. A copy of this cable was sent to the Ministry of States.
2. In June 1949, the *Daily Worker* published items alleging arrests, shootings and police firings in Hyderabad and Bengal jails. There was also a feature article on Hyderabad by Shafar Attar Ali, the *Daily Worker's* London correspondent.
3. Dealing with the Communists, the Special Tribunal in Nalgonda had, on 11 May 1949, sentenced to death eight persons on charges of murder and other offences.
4. According to J.N. Chaudhuri, the Military Governor of Hyderabad, in Nalgonda district, there were 40 murders in September, 67 in October, 40 in November, 16 in December 1948, 12 in January, 10 in March, 7 in April and 11 in May 1949. The figures of Warangal also showed a similar trend.
5. After the Military Governor had taken over the administration of Hyderabad, it was announced in February 1949 that *Sarf-e-Khas* or the Nizam's personal estate, comprising 15,000 Jagirs, that is, 6,500 villages covering one-third area of the State, was merged with the democratically governed parts of Hyderabad.

2. The Union of Travancore and Cochin¹

Travancore and Cochin have for long been among the foremost States in South India, reputed to be models of administration, particularly in the field of education. Their rulers have also been noted for their patronage of Kerala art and literature. I have no doubt that their Union, which is a historic event in South India, will bring bigger opportunities and greater prosperity to them.

1. Message on the occasion of merger of Travancore and Cochin into a Union, 1 July 1949. From the *National Herald*, 2 July 1949.

3. To Paul Ruegger¹

New Delhi
July 30, 1949

Dear Dr Ruegger,²

I am in receipt of your telegram of the 29th July. I am referring it to the States Ministry who will no doubt deal with the questions you have raised and send you an answer.

It is not quite clear to me what your approach is to the Razakars who are held in custody in Hyderabad. It would almost appear that you are looking upon them as some kind of prisoners of war. We all know that the Red Cross organization is rightly interested in ameliorating the lot of prisoners of war. But I was not aware of the fact that the Red Cross were equally interested in persons tried or convicted for criminal offences. The Razakars now held in custody, after repeated screening, are being kept for criminal offences and are being tried for them.

The normal rules applying to such undertrial prisoners and convicts no doubt apply to them also.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. (1897-1988); Swiss diplomat and jurist; Secretary of the Swiss Delegation to the League of Nations, 1920-25; Deputy Registrar, Permanent Court of International Justice, 1926-28; Counsellor in Swiss legation, Italy, 1929-31, Switzerland, 1931-33 and France, 1933-36; Minister in Italy, 1936-42 and U.K., 1944-48; President, International Committee of Red Cross, 1948-55.

I entirely agree with you that in matters of this kind it is always desirable to be generous. But generosity has to be tempered both by justice and by a consideration of the consequence of that generosity. I understand that there are at present a very considerable number of non-Muslims in prison in Hyderabad, also charged with criminal offences. About the time the Indian forces were entering Hyderabad, and the old governmental structure had broken down, there were upheavals of the Hindu population especially in the rural areas. These people, who had previously suffered from considerable repression from the Razakars, rose against them. They were joined by refugees who returned to Hyderabad. The result was that murder, arson and looting were committed. When our forces spread out to the rural areas, they arrested these non-Muslims, who had misbehaved and these people are also going to be tried or have been tried. Thus both the Razakars and the Hindus have been arrested for criminal offences and are being tried. It is hardly possible to treat one group differently from the other. In both cases we have tried not to proceed for minor offences. Any step taken in regard to the Razakars only and not for the others would hardly be considered just and would be deeply resented by large numbers of people.

Neither of these groups can be treated as war prisoners, as both of them have been arrested and are kept in prison for ordinary crimes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

PROVINCIAL AND STATE AFFAIRS
VII. General

1. On Coordination of Ministers' Conferences¹

I should like the Cabinet to consider the question of inter-provincial conferences which are frequently held in Delhi. There can be no doubt that these conferences, consisting sometimes of Premiers of provinces and States, sometimes of ministers in charge of special subjects like food, industry, etc., do a lot of good. They bring these ministers in touch with each other and common problems and common difficulties are discussed.

2. On the other hand, this practice has grown so much that there is a continuous stream of such conferences being held in Delhi. Indeed, on some occasions, there are hardly any provincial ministers left in the province as most of them are attending some conference or other in Delhi. I have received repeated complaints about this, both from the Premiers and the Governors and it has been pointed out to me that the work of the province suffers greatly. There is also the financial burden involved in it on the province.

3. In addition to these conferences, there is the Constituent Assembly which draws some of the Premiers and ministers to Delhi. This Assembly, we hope, will more or less finish its labours this month.

4. Then there is another aspect of these conferences. Not only Premiers of provincial governments but Chief Ministers of the new States' Unions are also invited. Frequently they bring their senior officials with them. The result is that this conference becomes a large semi-public gathering and loses the character of a committee meeting discussing rather informally the subjects on the agenda. Set speeches of long duration are delivered and the whole value of that conference greatly diminishes. There is little of discussion and more of speechifying at one another.

5. It seems to me that this matter should be carefully considered and some way out found. Generally speaking, conferences should only be held on special occasions and not too frequently. Secondly, they should be coordinated with one another so that, as far as possible, one conference immediately follows another and it is not necessary for ministers to come here repeatedly. This means that before any conference is called by any one Ministry, there should be consultation with other Ministries concerned. It would be easier and more practical for such matters to be referred to the Cabinet Secretariat which will try to bring about this coordination in dates, etc.

6. The other matter to be considered is this business of making the conference a forum for lengthy speechifying or a place where committee discussions take place.

1. Note to the Cabinet, New Delhi, 1 August 1949. File No. 15(50)/49-PMS.

I would personally suggest that all pretences at making speeches should be completely ruled out and the whole business of the conference should be one of considering problems on a factual basis and discussing what should be done.

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
August, 2 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Nearly every province has intimated to me that frequent conferences in Delhi come very much in the way of provincial work. Indeed, some ministers or other from each province always appear to be travelling up to Delhi. Senior officials are also summoned. Apart from this, Premiers and some other ministers attend important sessions of the Constituent Assembly.

The result of all this is that provincial work suffers greatly. It is obvious that meetings in Delhi are necessary from time to time both for the personal contact gained and for discussions on important matters. Nevertheless, this can be overdone and I would earnestly suggest to you to avoid summoning any provincial Minister or high official unless there is urgent and unavoidable reason for it.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. Circulated among all Ministers, Government Departments, and Premiers of Provinces. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, p.326.

LETTERS TO PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

I'

New Delhi
July 1, 1949

My dear Premier,

I shall begin this letter by drawing your attention to the broadcast² I made last evening on the food situation. You may have heard this or read it. But for facility of reference I enclose a copy. There is nothing very new in what I said, but I hope there is a new approach. You will observe that we are appointing a Commissioner for food production. His name³ will be announced soon. He will be given large executive powers and we shall try to tone up our secretariat machinery to fit in with this conception. If that old machinery does not suit an emergency effort, then some other machinery will have to be devised. One thing is certain that we must get going about this business and we cannot allow matters to drift, simply because the machine works slowly, or some individual in the machine is incapable of moving fast.

2. Whatever we may do at the Centre, the 'Grow More Food' problem remains essentially a provincial and State one, and everything depends on what the provinces and States do in this matter. I would draw your special attention to the necessity for cooperation and coordination between the Centre and the provinces and States. This is quite essential. I trust that you will take early steps to appoint a Commissioner for food production in your province or State and give him considerable powers.

3. Food production, in fact, must be treated as a subject of the very first importance in your province. There has been a tendency in the past to leave it to some junior minister and to consider it as a relatively unimportant subject. I think this tendency is largely disappearing and there is a realization that we must give of our best to this subject. I would suggest to you to consider this.

4. We have thought of this food problem chiefly on the official level and yet it is not possible to tackle it effectively without enthusing the people and getting widespread support. If the Congress organization would take up this in earnest, large numbers of our workers, who are apparently not doing much today, could be utilized for this essential work. Students could do it very well. Indeed if we tried hard enough, we could shake up the whole country.

5. I am quite convinced that the problem is essentially a simple one. We have made it difficult by our complicated approaches to it on the purely official level

1. File No. 25(6)/49-PMS. The letters in this section have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 1 (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 387-429.
2. On 29 June 1949. See *ante*, Section 2, pp. 45-51.
3. R.K. Patil.

and we have relied too much on foreign imports.⁴ That was an easy way, but that meant piling up difficulties for the future. That future has become the present now and we have to pull ourselves up completely. Provincial governments, eager for all kinds of reforms, spread out their energies over many matters. Some of these no doubt are essential. But it seems to me that some certainly are not at all essential and in fact ought to be postponed. We cannot afford to give up any existing revenue at the present moment.⁵ I am afraid some provinces have already gone too far in this direction in their zeal for reforming the individual. In the present context of things, we must be clear about priorities and as to what comes first. Some provinces have given up substantial revenues and intend to give up more, and at the same time ask the Centre for grants and loans. This is neither fair nor feasible.

6. You must have seen that a grave economic crisis has suddenly descended upon England.⁶ This relates chiefly to dollars. A meeting of Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth⁷ will be held about the middle of this month and our Finance Minister, Dr Matthai, is going to attend it. In the United States there is a recession and a slowing down and this is having its effect in Europe. Whether we are going towards a big slump or not, I do not know. In any event we have to pull ourselves up completely and not take any chance. That is why I suggest that provincial governments must not fritter away their energies or their finances in furthering experiments which may be desirable in themselves, but are inappropriate today.

7. In my broadcast I have referred to the desirability of avoiding the use of polished rice.⁸ This is not a fad, but a scientific fact. But as a matter of fact if polished rice was not used, we will get ten per cent more out of the rice, apart from other benefits. Some provinces have already taken steps in banning the production of fully polished rice. I hope your province will do something about this matter also. Probably the best solution is just slightly polished rice.

8. The experiment of not giving any cereal in the rations for one day in the week might be tried, beginning with the cities. This can only be done if you have

4. For example, India had imported 7,90,000 tons of rice in 1949, being the largest purchase of rice from the world market.

5. Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces and some other provinces had suffered heavy loss of revenue due to enforcement of the policy of prohibition. For example, the loss of revenue from six districts of the Central Provinces was Rs 2 crores. If the whole province had gone dry, it would have meant foregoing revenue amounting to Rs 5 crores, besides the expenditure involved in enforcement of the policy.

6. Faced with the Indo-Pakistan demand for sterling releases, particularly in dollars, and the American demand for devaluation, Britain's gold and dollar reserves were not expected to last even two years at the then rate of spending. The reserves were estimated to be less than 400 million pounds sterling in June, as compared to 471 million pounds sterling at the end of March and 552 million pounds at the beginning of the Marshall Aid Plan in 1948.

7. It was held from 13 to 18 July 1949.

8. See *ante*, Section 2, p. 49.

some adequate substitutes. During the coming monsoon there should be a drive for all people owning gardens and small pieces of land to grow one or more of the subsidiary foods that I have suggested or indeed any vegetable. This can easily be done during and immediately after the monsoon. After that, lack of water may make it a little difficult in some places.

9. I wrote to you in my last letter⁹ about the South Calcutta bye-election. Conditions in Calcutta still continue to be disturbing and petty incidents take place daily.¹⁰ It is true that newspaper accounts of these incidents produce an exaggerated picture in the mind of the reader, as if the whole of Calcutta was in a state of turmoil. That, of course, is not so and Calcutta is carrying on its business on the whole as usual. Nevertheless, it is true that there is a deep-seated malaise in Calcutta and West Bengal. The bye-election was one symptom of this and the more we look below the surface in Calcutta, the more disturbing we find the conditions. West Bengal after the partition is one of the most heavily populated regions in the world; Calcutta is terribly overpopulated now with a very large number of refugees from East Pakistan. There is great unemployment, more especially among the lower middle classes. A striking evidence of this was recently forthcoming when an advertisement asking for applications to fill about 30 places in some office elicited a vast number of replies, running into many thousands.

10. What is peculiarly distressing about Calcutta at present is the way certain anti-social elements can influence the life of a great city. Leaflets and pamphlets of a most objectionable and obscene character flood the city and generally there is a sense of insecurity and uncertainty. Calcutta is a pointer to what might possibly happen elsewhere. Therefore, we have to understand this Calcutta situation and profit by it. Government must deal with it firmly from the law and order point of view. But it is perfectly clear that that is not enough and other approaches have to be made. A Government, which has to rely on shooting frequently, ceases to command the respect of the people.¹¹

11. Another serious aspect is the way widespread charges of corruption are made against some departments. Usually they are vague charges and it is not possible to enquire into them. Sometimes more specific charges are put forward. Whenever any responsible person or organization puts forward a serious charge, this must be enquired into. In the same way, where firing takes place on a crowd resulting in the death of some people, there should be an automatic enquiry.

9. On 15 June 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 11, pp. 291-292.

10. For instance, Sucheta Kripalani, a member of the Congress Working Committee, was insulted and assaulted at the time of election. Occurrence of such incidents was on the increase.

11. For example, on 22 June 1949 the police had to open fire in South Calcutta on a procession that turned violent.

12. Our delegation which went to Pakistan returned soon after.¹² They arrived at an agreement with Pakistan about exchange of commodities and this should be of help to us in exporting some of our goods.¹³ But the main purpose of this conference, that is settling the problem of evacuee property, was not fulfilled. Whatever the future may hold, we must realize that in the present little or nothing can be expected from Pakistan and we shall have to go our own way.

13. In my last letter I suggested to you that your province might pass an ordinance on the lines of the Central Ordinance¹⁴ regarding evacuee property. I hope you will do so soon.

14. In Kashmir the deadlock continues and no way out is being found, which would enable us to have a regular truce.¹⁵ The U.N. Commission is still working away, although one of its senior members, Dr Lozano, has been called back to Columbia because of political changes there.

15. What is disturbing in regard to Kashmir is the continued concentration of troops by Pakistan on its Kashmir border and to some extent inside the Kashmir territory occupied by them. There is no apparent reason for these concentrations, unless they are meant as a threat or for future war. Anyhow we have to be prepared for all consequences.

16. The Congress President¹⁶ sent the General Secretary¹⁷ of the Congress to enquire into certain charges made against ministers.¹⁸ This is rather a novel procedure and it might lead to difficulties in the future. But the main fact to be remembered is that where serious charges are made against an individual or a group, there should be some enquiry. That enquiry can be a confidential one to begin with and, later public, if necessary.

17. In China, the advance of the Communist armies continues. At the same time the old Nationalist Government is apparently organizing its own forces in Formosa and some parts of South China. There was even some bombing by Nationalist planes in Shanghai. It is doubtful if this attempt of the Kuomintang forces, to check the Communist armies, will make very much difference. It might lead to delay and to pockets of resistance in some parts of China. The main strength of the Communist armies lies in the failure of the Nationalist Government to introduce agrarian and other reforms and the complete lack of faith of the Chinese people in that Government. The problem, therefore, is not just a military one. In

12. The Indian trade delegation for the talks held in Karachi from 21 to 24 June 1949 was led by C.C. Desai. Gopalaswami Ayyangar was the leader of the delegation for the Inter-Dominion talks on evacuee property held from 25 to 26 June 1949.

13. An agreement for exchange of essential commodities was signed on 29 June 1949.

14. The ordinance was passed on 13 June 1949.

15. See *post*, Section 11, sub-section I.

16. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

17. Shankarrao Deo.

18. See *ante*, Section 9, sub-section IV, item 1.

this connection it may interest you to read a small note¹⁹ I have had prepared about the economic policy of the Chinese Communist Government. This is enclosed.²⁰ It is evident from this as well as from other recent happenings that the Communist authorities in China are not attempting to make a clean sweep of the existing economic structure. They do propose introducing far-reaching reforms in land as well as in industry. But they are still giving a good deal of scope to foreign business enterprise and capital. They are more anxious to increase production and efficiency than merely to bring about some change in the structure.

18. In Burma, the position of Thakin Nu's Government has improved a little, though the situation is still very complex.²¹ The Burmese Government has indicated that they are not in any immediate need of financial aid. This is largely due to their suspicions of foreign powers. It is well known that some foreigners have encouraged the Karen rebellion and because of this the Burmese Government view with suspicion any foreign approach.

19. In Indonesia, the Dutch troops have withdrawn from Jogjakarta and Indonesian troops are taking possession of that city and the area attached to it called the Residency.²² This is one step forward towards a possible settlement. It is proposed to have a round table conference at The Hague to consider what other steps should be taken. While we should congratulate ourselves at something having been done at last, we must remember at the same time that very little has thus far been done and the immediate future is full of difficulties. In Indonesia itself there is no great enthusiasm because of their inherent suspicion of Dutch motives.

19. The note, prepared by K.P.S. Menon on 21 June 1949 stated that the Communist revolution "touches the very foundation of the Chinese society" and recognized that "the peasant has to be resuscitated." Accordingly, the land laws abolished landlordism, gave the right to the peasant unions in villages to take over all lands for equal distribution, and secured the rights of sale and lease to the new owners of land. The new industrial policy envisaged the confiscation of capital owned by influential families, a ban on import of consumer goods, the assurance of payment to workers commensurate with their productive capacity and the nationalization of industries.

20. Not printed.

21. The Karen rebels abandoned the town of Insein on 22 May 1949, withdrew from most of the towns in Central Burma and by the beginning of June 1949 concentrated in the Sittang Valley, with headquarters in Toungoo, where they proclaimed the establishment of a Karen Cabinet administering a separate State. They held the adjoining Karenni Hills but their attempt to enter Shan States and rouse the Kachins farther north to rebellion failed.

22. The meeting of the Dutch and the Indonesian delegations held at Batavia from 14 April to 1 August 1949, at the invitation of the United Nations Commission on Indonesia, reached a broad agreement on the release of all Republican political leaders, return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta and measures to halt guerilla warfare and restoration of peace and holding of a round table conference at The Hague. By 27 June, Jogjakarta was evacuated and the Republican leaders arrested since December 1948 released on 7 July 1949.

20. You must have learnt of the result of the referendum in Chandernagore.²³ That is a good beginning and we hope that the formal transfer of this town will take place before long. Chandernagore has been a refuge for anti-social elements from Calcutta. Even now it has been used for this purpose.

21. In the States in India and the States' Unions, progress has been made towards the abolition of the jagirdari system and reforms in agrarian tenure.

22. In Hyderabad, some reforms have already been introduced and a high-power committee²⁴ is considering further land reforms. A Labour Enquiry Committee has also been appointed.²⁵ A regulation on the jagirdari system is awaiting approval now.²⁶ Legislation is also being considered in Hyderabad for the removal of all social disabilities of Harijans. Electoral rolls have been completed and it is proposed to hold elections to the Hyderabad Constituent Assembly by the end of this year.

23. The Travancore-Cochin Union takes effect from today, 1st July. Rampur State has also been taken over today by the Centre and will have the status of a Chief Commissioner's Province. Ultimately, Rampur is likely to be absorbed in the United Provinces. Tehri-Garhwal State will be absorbed in the United Provinces on the 1st of August.

24. In Mysore, a Supplementary Instrument of Accession has been signed²⁷ extending the list of subjects of accession.²⁸ This practically brings Mysore into line with provinces in regard to Central subjects.

25. At a conference of Rajpramukhs held in April last, it was agreed that the various States Unions should work under the general control of the Government of India and should comply with particular directions that may be issued from the Centre. The Central Government is appointing advisers to the Union Ministries.

26. We have appointed Shri A.A.A. Fyze²⁹ as our Ambassador at Cairo. Shri Fyze is an eminent scholar in both Persian and Arabic, and has held

23. In the referendum held on 19 June 1949, the people had overwhelmingly voted in favour of integration of Chandernagore with India.

24. The committee was headed by M. Madhav Rao.

25. The Labour (Factory) Investigation Commission was appointed in June 1949.

26. On 15 August 1949, by the Jagir Abolition Regulation, villages belonging to various categories of jagirdars were taken over by an Administrator, and the process of their integration with district administration was completed by the end of March 1950.

27. On 27 June 1949.

28. On 12 May 1949 Instruments of Accession were executed by the States which accepted the Union jurisdiction in matters described in Lists I & III, Schedule VII of Government of India Act, 1935.

29. (1899-1981); Principal, Government Law College, Bombay, 1938-47; member, Public Service Commission, Bombay, 1947-49; Ambassador to Egypt, 1949-51; member, U.P.S.C., 1952-57; later Vice-Chancellor, Jammu and Kashmir University; author of several works on Islamic jurisprudence.

responsible posts in India. We attach importance to this post at Cairo as it governs our relations with countries in the Middle East.

27. It has been decided to establish diplomatic relations with Austria. This will not involve the appointment of a new Minister, as our Minister³⁰ in Switzerland will also represent us in Austria.

28. In view of the economic situation in India and the world, strict directives have been issued³¹ to all the Ministries and departments of Government to economize and avoid any expenditure which is not considered absolutely necessary. In future, delegations from India to international conferences will be strictly limited and, wherever possible, we shall only send one or two observers or delegates drawn from our embassies abroad. We are thinking of having some additional members of our staff in New York and in London, and possibly at Geneva, who might serve these delegations abroad. This will lead to greater efficiency and less expense.

29. We have made a rule here at the Centre that no one should be sent abroad on government business without special reference to External Affairs and the Prime Minister. I suggest to you that similar care might be exercised in your province in incurring any expenditure which might involve the use of foreign exchange.

30. All this leads to a tightening up all round on the expenditure side and a special concentration on food production. I greatly regret that some of our important activities might suffer on this account and might have to be postponed. But there is no help for it. If we do not make good on the food front and generally in avoiding expenditure of foreign money, our difficulties will increase very greatly and anyhow our other schemes would be held up. So, it is important to devote our energies to this 'Grow More Food' business. Our success in that will make our position in regard to other matters very much stronger. It would produce confidence in the country and a spirit of self-reliance will grow up. May I again emphasize that this food problem cannot be tackled merely on the official level? We must draw voluntary workers, organizations and the public generally into the picture. We should state the facts frankly and squarely and make the people understand the position and seek their cooperation. That cooperation may, of course, help greatly certain executive or legislative action. I shall be grateful if you could send me periodically with your fortnightly letter or separately a brief account of the Grow-More-Food Campaign in your province, both from the official and the public points of view. As I have stated in my broadcast,³² I want to address myself to the public at least once a month on this issue, and the facts that you supply me will help me to do so.

31. It has been suggested that some kind of rewards might be given to specific areas for the Grow-More-Food Campaign. This might be examined. I rather think it will involve complicated enquiries and calculations if the reward is in the nature

30. Dhirajlal Desai.

31. See *ante*, Section 8, sub-section III, item 2.

32. See *ante*, Section 2, item 3.

of a partial remission of land revenue. I think that some simpler methods should be evolved. If a village does well, government should give it some additional facility or some grant for development. Individual farmers or other workers who do well might be given certificates or a scroll of honour. Meetings might be organized where these certificates or scrolls are presented and particular villages who have done well mentioned. I have no doubt other methods will suggest themselves to you.

32. We have had to deal in the past two years with very difficult law and order problems, and we have been forced to enact legislation both at the Centre and in the provinces, which is in the nature of repressive legislation. We have done so with the greatest reluctance because the safety of the State was the paramount consideration for us. On the whole, we have succeeded in checking dangerous anti-social elements. It is true, however, that we have been strongly criticized for this legislation both at the Centre and in the provinces and the fact that large numbers of people have been kept under detention has not added to our general credit as governments.

33. I think it is time that we reviewed this position fully. It is true that there are dangerous elements abroad. It is obvious that the Communist Party of India is openly bent on pursuing violent methods trying to create disorder and chaos. Their objective appears to be a purely negative one, because it is quite clear that they cannot make much difference to India, if they proceeded on democratic lines. In any general election in India they will not make much difference. Therefore, neither the Centre nor any province can lessen its vigilance. We can take no risk where the interests of the State are concerned. More particularly, any attempt at violence must be severely put down. It must be made absolutely clear that any violent methods against the State will be dealt with with the greatest firmness. At the same time, where violence is not involved, we should adopt a far more generous attitude. We have been criticized a great deal by High Courts, and many people who have been detained, have been released by High Courts, on applications being made under the *Habeas Corpus* provisions. We have to take note of this fact. It has also been stated that certain provisions in our security legislation come in the way of labour organizations, etc. These must also be reviewed. In other words, while we should proceed firmly with every attempt at violence, in regard to other matters we should refrain, as far as possible, from repressive action. Naturally, it is for provincial governments to judge what is absolutely necessary and what is not. In judging, they have to bear in mind the effect on public opinion, as also the fact that continued repression is apt to lose its particular value as a preventive.

34. The other point I should like to draw your particular attention to is the charge that is made of corruption in government departments, more particularly in regard to civil supplies, licences, etc. Many of these charges are vague and it is difficult to enquire into them. But wherever a specific charge is made, it should be enquired into. The public should be made to feel that every Government in India is anxious and eager and alert to put an end to corruption in any shape or form.

LETTERS TO PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

What usually happens is that a number of small people are proceeded against and convicted, but the big offenders usually get away. It is really the big offenders that count and not the smaller fry.

35. I have been greatly pained to see the general drift in some of our periodicals as well as in pamphlets and leaflets, towards not only irresponsibility but indecency. Leaflets and pamphlets issued in Calcutta are amazingly bad and even obscene. The most irresponsible statements are made. Even in other cities some of our weekly press specially is descending to levels which astonish and distress me. I do not know what can be done about this, because we do not wish to interfere with the press as far as possible. But surely the leaders of the press themselves should be made to realize that all this is degrading the press as well as the nation.

36. Day after tomorrow I am going to Leh in Ladakh on a brief visit. I am not going there for pleasure, though I have no doubt that I shall enjoy that visit to the high mountains. I am going there because I think that my visit there will bear good results from many points of view. It is a very brief visit and I shall return to Delhi on the 9th morning.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

New Delhi
July 20, 1949

My dear Premier,

I am sorry for the slight delay in sending you my fortnightly letter. Many of you will be coming up to Delhi soon and we shall meet and discuss various matters.¹ Nevertheless I am writing to you this letter to draw your attention to certain happenings during the last fortnight.

2. I have had some rather unique experiences during the last fortnight. I went to Ladakh in the far north, between the Himalayan and the Karakoram ranges, and spent a few brief days there. I could write to you much about my visit, because Ladakh is a little known area and deserves notice for a variety of reasons. It is, as you know, a frontier area and on the airfield near Leh there was a signpost pointing out directions to Tibet, China, the Soviet Union and other surrounding

1. Several Premiers had come for discussions held from 17 to 24 July on the Draft Constitution. They also attended the food conference on 23 and 24 July 1949.

countries. The average altitude of the lower valleys of Ladakh is 11,500 feet. The higher valleys go up to 15,000 feet. The people approximate to the Tibetans in appearance, religion, culture and dress. Lamaism, that is a form of Buddhism, flourishes there and the influence of the Lamas is great. There are undoubtedly some able and erudite scholars among them, but the great majority seemed to me to be very ignorant and unlearned. Little care had been bestowed on the piles of old manuscripts lying in the monasteries. The people generally are very poor, but tough and rather jolly.

3. Soon after my return from Ladakh I went to Calcutta² and saw an entirely different scene. You may have read about some of my adventures in Calcutta.³ They were not only personal adventures, but had a political significance and indeed the Congress Working Committee has been giving a great deal of thought to developments in West Bengal. This was not only because of the importance of West Bengal but also because, in a sense, they were symbolic of many of our problems all over India.

4. As I stood in the small gardens or much more frequently the bleak wastes of Ladakh, I thought of the infinite variety of our country. A few days later I was in Calcutta and my thoughts turned to Ladakh and compared and contrasted these two entirely different scenes. There could be no greater difference between any two parts of the earth's surface, however far one travelled. And yet both these were India, as also much else which was different from either. How many of us have an understanding and an emotional appreciation of this tremendous richness and variety of India. Because we do not wholly appreciate this, even though we might talk about it sometimes, we try often enough to regiment the whole of India into a single pattern. Wherever we may be, we think that we are in the heart of India and represent the quintessence of India's culture and tradition, and that the others are rather near the outer pale and their chief function is to fall in line with us. That approach seems to me to be far from reality, and to ignore not only the facts as they are in India, but also the age-long tradition of India which allowed each culture to have scope for growth and did not try to coerce it into a single pattern. Modern conditions of life, new methods of swift transportation and communication, inevitably tend to produce a certain uniformity and regimentation. Whether that is a good thing or not, may be a matter for argument. But deliberate attempts to accelerate this process are hardly likely to succeed, and in the measure they succeed they may deaden something that is bright and make lustreless what has been vital in our national life.

2. From 12 to 14 July 1949.

3. At the Shyambazar crossing, a small crowd had shouted "Go back Nehru" and hurled stones and shoes at the Prime Minister's car. At a public meeting on 14 July 1949 leaflets were thrown, and a bomb exploded on a police picket.

5. All these thoughts came to me in Ladakh and I further thought how wise our ancestors were in their large-hearted tolerance and human understanding. It would be well with India, I mused, if we of the present generation had also a measure of that tolerance and human touch. Culture, like a flower, does not take kindly to forced growth, and, like a flower again, it fades away in an environment not suited to it; compulsion crushes it and makes it lifeless.

6. Ladakh is a far away corner of India, yet it is India. Kashmir proper is nearer in every way, geographically and otherwise to India, and yet it has its peculiar characteristics, quite apart from its astonishing beauty. It has been in the past one of the greatest seats of old Indian culture, and yet because of the very environment, it developed in its own way. Inevitably even the external emblem of our life like food and clothing differ somewhat with geography and climate. India is considered generally a country where it is normally hot. That of course is true. But India also has the high mountains and the snow-covered peaks and people who live in these colder climates put on fur-lined boots and heavy coats, or else they would not survive. India therefore displays both the bare-foot or the *chappal* encasing it and these fur-lined boots of the north. Vast numbers of Indians wear the *dhoti* in various forms. Yet this dress is an impossible one in the mountain valleys of the north where in winter the temperature is far below zero and even in summer bitterly cold winds blow.

7. So, as we build the mighty structure of free and Republican India, let us remember all these innumerable faces that India has and provide for them. Let us not try to remould any of them forcibly to conform to our particular conception of what India is.

8. I have many impressions of my visit to Ladakh, but three stand out. The first is of my flying over the Himalayas and looking down at a magnificent spectacle of ice-covered peaks, glaciers and snow-fields. That is a sight I can never forget. My second picture is that of a vast wilderness of sand and rock with occasional caves on the banks of the Indus or where water came down from the glaciers. Across these sandy wastes we travelled sometimes slowly and wearily and sometimes galloping as fast as the mountain ponies would carry us. At brief intervals we would come across a monastery, usually perched on a hill top, commanding a view of the surrounding country. That monastery looked as if it was a natural growth from the rock itself. It fitted in with that bare and bleak scene.

9. My third memory of Ladakh is that of a moonlit night on the banks of the Indus. The river shone like burnished silver and in the background there were mountains with snow on their peaks, also glistening in the moonlight. The Indus, which gave India her name, and which, in its later stages, becomes a mighty river, sweeping down to the sea, was here a mountain stream with something of the frolic and playfulness of youth. The sound of its flowing waters was very pleasant to hear, even as the sight of its glistening surface was a delight to the eyes.

10. From this part of India, where nature is dominant and triumphant, I went to Calcutta, where five or six million human beings now dwell. The scene changed completely and the problems that faced me there were utterly different. Here nature was not very obvious, only man and his works and his conflicts were evident. West Bengal, like Ladakh, was also a frontier province of India, a frontier created rather brutally by the partition. As a result of that partition it had suffered greatly and had become the most densely populated province of India. It was a province which was far more urban in its general outlook than any other province of India. Indeed a very large part of this population lived in the great city of Calcutta. Unemployment of the lower middle classes especially had risen very greatly and there was a general sense of frustration and annoyance at the new turn of the wheel of fate and at those who were supposed to ignore the claims of Bengal. Many people outside Bengal are apt to pay little attention to this deep-seated malaise of that Province. But it would be wrong and foolish not to try to understand what is passing through the mind and soul of West Bengal today, and it would be ungenerous for us in the rest of India not to try to help the people of West Bengal in every way possible to us.

11. The problems there were many, but there could be little doubt that there was general dissatisfaction against the Provincial Government and the Provincial Congress. The people generally appeared to be passive and inert, while a handful committed outrages from day to day. Yet the magnificent meeting, the biggest I have ever addressed,⁴ was significant evidence that the people of Calcutta had not cast away their old love in search for a new.

12. During the last two or three days, the Working Committee have given very earnest consideration to the problems of West Bengal. They have come to no final decision yet, but they have felt that the present situation should not be allowed to drift. There has been some delay in their decision because the West Bengal Premier, Dr B.C. Roy, had gone abroad for treatment of his eyes.⁵ Nevertheless I hope that the Working Committee's decisions on this subject will come out before the end of this month.

13. The Congress Working Committee feel that the first step to be taken in regard to West Bengal is to give the people an early chance of deciding for themselves what their Government, their legislature, and their Provincial Congress should be. They must realize that their future is essentially in their own hands and that they are responsible for it. This may remove a feeling of oppression as if something was imposed upon them from outside. All this involves elections. Normally, of course, the general elections on the basis of the new Constitution would take place about the end of 1950 or the beginning of 1951. They cannot be held earlier as the electoral roll on the basis of adult franchise is not ready.

4. About a million people had gathered at Calcutta on 14 July 1949. See *ante*, Section 9, sub-section 1, item 10.

5. Roy left for Switzerland on 23 June 1949.

It must be remembered that this new electoral roll is going to be the biggest of any in any part of the world. The act of preparation and subsequent printing itself is a tremendous affair. In the present conditions of West Bengal it does not seem advisable to wait for a year and a half for the new election. It is true that any earlier election can only be on the basis of the Government of India Act of 1935 and that means a restricted franchise. But even that is better than a policy of drift which will progressively irritate the people. Elections do not solve problems. They merely create conditions which might be more favourable to their solution. Ultimately the solution must come from the people themselves and their representatives. It is true that the policy of the Central Government can help or hinder in bringing about such solution.

14. In view of the peculiar difficulties which this new frontier Province of West Bengal has to face, it should be the policy of the Central Government as well as of other provinces of India, to help as far as possible the people of West Bengal in going towards a solution of their problems. There has been far too much provincialism not only in West Bengal but in other neighbouring provinces also, which hinders this solution and which creates barriers of ill will. Goodwill and an attempt at friendly cooperation are not only good in themselves but also pay dividends in the end.

15. West Bengal has many lessons for each province and for all of us in India. So far as the Congress organization is concerned, it demonstrates the fatal consequences of divisions and factions, which weaken and disable the Congress and tend to disintegrate all public life. Such divisions and factions are seldom due to any differences in matters of principle or policy; usually they are caused by personal rivalries and jealousies. If the Congress has to continue as a historic force shaping the destinies of India, it must pull itself up and put an end to these internal divisions. That does not mean suppression of opinions or a regimentation of all those who are within the wide folds of the Congress. But it does mean observance of a certain wider discipline and tolerance and capacity for joint action.

16. Another lesson is that we must tackle with all our strength the problem of effective and efficient administration. The public is prepared to put up with much if it is convinced that every effort is being made to fight the evils that surround us. If once they lose faith in the *bona fides* of a government or an administration, then even the good it does carries little weight with them. There is a great deal of talk about corruption in India today and it has become almost a fashion even for Congress leaders to refer to it. Our opponents, of course, revel in such charges. I think that much of this is exaggerated and that probably there has been a marked improvement in various provinces. In any event, it does not do much good to shout about this and thus create the very atmosphere in which corruption flourishes. But the fact remains that there is a good deal of corruption. Much of this is a war-time legacy and I am afraid that our merchant classes and many large-scale producers of goods have been involved in this. Also a part of the government apparatus, more

especially our transport system, which is often given great inducement for showing partiality. It is our business to tackle this problem with all our strength. I have no doubt that provincial governments have done so. But usually it is only the smaller people who are caught and punished, the big sinners escape because they have long purses and other means at their disposal to frustrate justice. It is these big persons who set an example to others and the people are more concerned with them than with the smaller fry.

17. We have a large number of big schemes for development all over the country and governments are also interested in measures of social reform. All these are, no doubt, important. But, at the present juncture, it is far more important to deal with the immediate problems which confront us, such as tightening and purifying of the administration, the food problem and the aspects of the economic problem which affect us immediately and which might be remedied. The refugees also claim immediate attention.

18. Measures of social reform may be divided up into two categories. One is the abolition of the zamindari system and land reform. This, of course, is of the highest importance as it affects millions of people and has already been delayed too long. It is the basis for further progress. In this connection I might add that it has surprised me to learn that in some parts of India ejectment of tenants is still going on on a fairly considerable scale. In particular this is taking place in Jodhpur and Jaipur in Rajasthan. But complaints have come to me from other provinces also. It seems obvious that such ejectments should not be countenanced and some steps should be taken to stop it while legislation to replace the zamindari and jagirdari systems is being considered. This ejectment is not only unjust as a rule, but in the present economic temper of the country it is definitely a dangerous procedure.

19. The second type of social legislation might be said to aim at the improvement of the individual. That is good in its way provided it does not produce a contrary reaction as such legislation sometimes does. The improvement of the individual is not an easy matter for any State to undertake by legislation so long as there is not a widespread public opinion in favour of that legislation. Opinions also differ as to what is the best method to do it and as to the objectives to be aimed at. Then again if such attempts lead to a shrinkage of public revenue, in the present circumstances, the good they might do might well be out-balanced by the harm. Therefore, it is desirable to go slow with such steps and to concentrate on the more important and urgent problems of the day. We cannot afford to irritate various sections of public opinion on matters of secondary importance, or to give up revenues when our need is greatest.

20. As you know, the ban on the R.S.S. has been removed. Also that there has been some kind of a general gaol delivery.⁶ This does not mean that we are

6. The ban was lifted on 12 July following an affirmation by M.S. Golwalkar, chief of the R.S.S., of complete loyalty to the Union Constitution and respect for the Union flag. Golwalkar was released from jail on 18 July 1949.

convinced about the *bona fides* of the R.S.S. movement, although they have promised to behave in future. All it means is that we feel that we must gradually relax the abnormal measures that we have taken in restricting the normal liberties of the individual and the group, whatever that might be. We do not propose to relax in the slightest our vigilance and we shall take instant action whenever necessary. But such action loses its value when it becomes a normal action of the State. We have been criticized a great deal for our restrictions of civil liberties. That criticism may be justified *in vacuo*, but it is to be considered in relation to the extraordinary circumstances which we have had to face during the past two years. We were compelled to take that action because the safety and security of the State and the great majority of our people were concerned. Nevertheless, it is true that such repressive legislation has a bad odour about it and it creates the wrong mentality both in government and the people. Therefore, it is our intention, so far as possible, not to have such permanent or even temporary legislation on the statute book but rather to deal with an emergency if and when it arises. We hope to do it with the cooperation of the public, when we must always seek, and we shall get that cooperation more if we adopt this new policy. I commend this policy to your government.

21. It is clear, however, that in many parts of the country the situation is far from satisfactory. The new growth of the cult of violence and terrorism has resulted in a large number of individual murders, more especially in Andhra and in West Bengal. This kind of thing has to be met with all vigour. We see a curious combination of what might be termed communistic terrorism which has little to do even with communism. Thus our general relaxation in the field of civil liberties will certainly not mean the slightest relaxation in meeting violence against the individual or the State, wherever it occurs and whatever form it might take.

22. Recently I visited Lucknow chiefly because it was announced in the press that a new group had been formed within the Congress Party of the legislature.⁷ This seemed to us a dangerous development which must be stopped, and I am glad to say that my visit to Lucknow led to the dissolution of this group.⁸ The question is a wider one and all Congress parties in the legislature and Congress governments should give thought to it. While there must be full opportunities given to an opposition to flourish in a legislature and a responsible opposition is a good thing, there is no justification whatever for the Congress Party itself to split up into hostile groups. Therefore, the discipline of these Congress parties in the legislature must be maintained and no formation of groups within them permitted. That is the view of the Congress Working Committee. But another consequence follows from this and that is this. The government or ministry of a province must itself not be based

7. 60 out of 165 members of the Congress Legislative Party had formed a separate group to keep a check on the Ministers.

8. It was dissolved on 19 July 1949.

on a group within the party. The leader should choose his ministers on the basis of the best available talent. Sometimes it so happens that there is a contest for leadership and then the chosen leader appoints his ministers from those who voted for him. This results automatically in the other group becoming more isolated and thinking in terms of the group in opposition. It tries to convert the minority into a majority. All these tendencies can be avoided if the leader deals with the party as a whole in choosing ministers and others. Ultimately the cohesion of the party depends on the personality of the leader and he should always remember that he is the leader of the party as a whole and not of a group within the party. If he functions as a group leader, then rival groups necessarily begin to take shape. We must, therefore, view this problem as a whole and prevent the formation and functioning of groups within the party by drawing into the administration the best people from the party.

23. I hope your Government has taken steps to put up a special emergency food production department and appointed a commissioner of food production with special powers. In the Centre, as you know, Shri R.K. Patil, till lately Food Minister of the Central Provinces Government, has been appointed Commissioner for Food Production and he had been given considerable powers to take action outside the normal routine method. While governments should function on an emergency basis in this matter, it is essential that public cooperation should be sought. Provincial Congress Committees as well as other important organizations, like the Women's Conference, cooperatives, etc. should be invited to cooperate. The larger schemes are mainly governmental, but the immediate approach to the problem involves large scale public cooperation in the growth of subsidiary foods in the avoidance of waste and in some change in food habits; also in the use of all available land attached to houses, etc. for food production.

24. I should like to draw your attention to the tremendous housing difficulties in the great cities. Something has to be done about this as it is becoming impossible for the average middle class person to get any accommodation. The most fantastic premia and *pagris* are charged which only the rich can afford. If the existing law is not enough to control the situation, something else has to be done. In this connection we are particularly concerned with difficulties in housing government employees. For instance, the Postal Department has to tackle far more work than previously. Their employees often sit huddled up together in small rooms where it is impossible to work efficiently. The result is that work suffers and great delays take place. The employees also have no proper place to live in. It seems essential in order to improve postal conditions to have proper offices as well as some decent accommodation for the employees. In this matter provincial governments can help. We cannot start big building programmes at present, but houses might be requisitioned and handed over to the Postal Department. Some provinces, like Bihar, appear to have no power to requisition houses. I think they should take this power.

25. You are aware that our Finance Minister is in London at present attending a conference of Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth.⁹ The dollar situation is a very serious one and we shall have to cut down our dollar expenditure rigorously. Even visits abroad of officials have to be curtailed. No one should be sent abroad unless it is an absolute necessity.

26. After considerable thought we have appointed Professor S. Radhakrishnan as our Ambassador in Moscow. This post is of vital significance and we wanted a man of outstanding ability and reputation to fill it. We are happy that Prof. Radhakrishnan has agreed to go there.

27. At the present moment a military conference is being held in Karachi to determine the ceasefire line between the two forces.¹⁰ It is difficult to say whether this conference will lead to a full agreement or not.¹¹ There is no doubt that the determination of such a line clearly would be to the advantage of all parties concerned and would prevent incidents.

28. In Indonesia events are marching forward, the Republic has taken possession of Jogjakarta and is going to send its representatives to the conference at The Hague. In view of this development we have removed the ban on the KLM services across India,¹² and we are sending immediately our Ambassador, Dr M.S. Mehta,¹³ to The Hague. We hope that some of the Indonesian leaders on their way to The Hague will stop at Delhi for consultations with us.

29. In China the Communist forces are marching south. Meanwhile the old Nationalist Government has expressed its determination to fight on. It is rather doubtful how far it will succeed. Reaction to events in China has been marked in Tibet and the Tibetan Government are trying to send away the Chinese in Lhasa and elsewhere as they are afraid of communist activity there.

30. In Burma the situation appears slightly to improve from the Government's point of view. But conditions are still fluid. Indians in Burma have suffered a great deal owing to the civil war and many are isolated in the rebel areas and we have tried to evacuate them.

9. The meeting of the Finance Ministers of ten Commonwealth countries held from 13 to 18 July decided to recommend to their governments to follow Britain's example of reducing their dollar expenditure. Cripps described the Conference as "one of the most successful meeting we have ever held."

10. An Indo-Pakistan joint military conference to demarcate a ceasefire line in Kashmir opened in Karachi on 18 July 1949. The Indian delegation was led by Lt. Gen. S.M. Srinagेश.

11. On 26 July 1949, India and Pakistan agreed on a ceasefire line for the entire Jammu and Kashmir State.

12. A seven-month ban imposed on 23 December 1948 following the Dutch military action against the Republicans in Indonesia was lifted by the Government of India on 20 July 1949.

13. (1895-1985); Chief Minister of Mewar State, 1944-47; Ambassador to the Netherlands, 1949-51; High Commissioner to Pakistan, 1951-55; Ambassador to Switzerland and Austria, 1955-58; Vice-Chancellor, University of Rajasthan, 1960-66.

31. We addressed the Government of the Union of South Africa¹⁴ and offered to join in a round table conference to consider the question of Indians in South Africa. This was in pursuance of the resolution¹⁵ of the General Assembly of United Nations. We had a reply which is on the whole friendly in tone but which nevertheless has certain provisions attached to it. We are in further communication with the South African Government. It is clear that we can hope little from such a conference if it takes place as the two viewpoints are fundamentally opposed to each other. Nevertheless, it is our intention to pursue this matter to the end so that we may act up to the direction of the United Nations. If the South African Union Government puts up impossible conditions, then of course the matter will end there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. On 4 July 1949.

15. Passed on 14 May 1949.

III

New Delhi
August 1, 1949

My dear Premier,

The Congress Working Committee has met¹ here during the last fortnight and considered two matters of great importance. In my last letter I had given some indication of the steps the Working Committee were going to recommend in regard to West Bengal. You will have seen the resolutions that they have issued, both in regard to West Bengal² and Madras.³

2. I would particularly like to draw your attention to the procedure in regard to complaints which has been clearly laid down in the Madras resolution. There has been far too much loose talk about corruption, etc. and Congressmen have been rushing to the press. Now a definite and precise procedure has been laid down for the members of the Congress Party in the Legislature. They must approach the leader of the Party, who is also the Premier in all the provinces.

1. On 18, 19, 27 and 28 July 1949.

2. See *ante*, Section 9, sub-section 1, item 13.

3. See *ante*, Section 9, sub-section IV, item 1.

It is for the Premier to enquire into any charge made. At a later stage, if necessary, the matter may come up before the Working Committee or the Central Parliamentary Board.

3. Another resolution of the Working Committee which is important, and to which I drew your attention in my last letter, was in regard to groupings within a party.⁴ This kind of grouping cannot possibly be tolerated. But it is not enough to condemn an opposition group growing up. It is the responsibility of the leader of the Party to prevent any such tendency from spreading and to function always as leader of the full Party and not as that of the group. If a majority group functions as a group, then the consequence must necessarily be that the minority also functions as a group.

4. The Premier⁵ of one of our provincial governments wrote to me few days ago⁶ expressing his distress at what he called "the frustration of the public sense of social justice awakened by our achievement of freedom." He went on to say: "We want discipline in Congress ranks and purity in public life. How can we secure this, when highest rank Congressmen do not observe discipline and escape the consequences? We support and countenance the rich in their impure deeds and turn all our machinery of purification against the poor. The rich employ newspapers who pervert truth and do false propaganda, lawyers who defend them, and agents who go to the length of purloining State documents and bribe heavily and yet they are kept in countenance by their association with highly placed Congressmen. It is not the poor and the lowly but the rich and the highly placed who need purification." This cry of distress from one of our most valued colleagues and a head of a great administration, deserves the closest attention from all of us. Whatever policies we may pursue, it is of the highest importance that we should fight the evils that are corroding into our public life. How can we fight them, if we ourselves are not above suspicion or if we harbour and shelter those who are suspected of indulging in those evil deeds? There can be no compromise with evil or else we will be swamped by that evil ourselves.

5. There is one matter which is bad in itself and which also leads to evil consequences. That is the interference of M.L.As. in the administration. Members of the Assembly have no business to interfere in this way with the local administration. If they do so, they free the district officers from all responsibility and then nobody is responsible. The whole structure of the British administration in the past was built up on the district officer. That structure must necessarily change,

4. The resolution passed on 18 July 1949 directed all Provincial Congress Committees not to pass any no-confidence resolution against Congress ministries, and suggested that if Provincial Congress Committees had any grievance against Congress ministries that should be brought to the notice of the Central Parliamentary Board or the Working Committee itself.

5. B.G. Kher, Premier of Bombay.

6. On 25 July 1949. See also Section 14, item 5.

when a democratic set-up comes into being. Nevertheless the District Officer remains in a key position and should be responsible for what happens in his district. If M.L.As. interfere in appointments, in transfers, in the grant of licences, etc. then all responsibility vanishes and nepotism and corruption creep in.

6. As I wrote in my last letter, I think that there is a great deal of exaggeration in all this talk of corruption in the country. But I am deeply concerned even with what exists and, more especially, with the disruptive tendencies that are in evidence. The only way to check them is to pull ourselves up completely and refuse to have any truck with the evil-doer. The Congress built up its strength because, under the inspiration of our great leader, we set high standards of public life. We dare not fall from the standards we then set up. We shall be judged by those very standards and not by the other opportunist standards which often prevail in public life.

7. The Constituent Assembly is now on the last lap of its long journey. It is more than two and a half years since it first met, and during this period mighty changes have taken place in India. The Assembly has however continued its work in spite of changes and upheavals. It is hoped that during the month of August it will finish the second reading of the Constitution, the third reading merely giving formality to it later. During this month of August we shall have to deal with many important matters which have been held over.

8. One of the matters to which we have given a great deal of thought is the question of citizenship or nationality. It is easy enough to frame a law for citizenship, but we had two difficulties to face. One of these was caused by the partition of India and the tremendous migrations that have taken place.⁷ The other dealt with the question of Indians abroad.⁸ In the draft that is being placed before the Assembly, an attempt has been made to meet both these difficulties. Indians abroad will be able to continue their Indian nationality, if they so choose. It is clear that they cannot have a double nationality and some kind of choice will have to be made. In the case, however, of some of the British colonial territories, like Malaya, it will be possible for an Indian national to have citizenship rights there.

9. Delhi has experienced a tremendous and unprecedented downpour of rain. We had thirteen inches in about two days. The streets were flooded and large number of refugees suffered tremendous hardships. Many of the houses that were being built for them were washed away, and the temporary sheds which they had built for themselves largely collapsed. This created an urgent and difficult problem for us. We have with a great effort made temporary arrangements for these refugees. The Army came to our help with some barracks and His Excellency the Governor-General also gave us quarters attached to the Government House.

7. See *ante*, Section 6, item 13.

8. The Constitution allowed any person whose parents or grandparents were born in India, but who was residing abroad, to become an Indian citizen by registration. However, no person could secure Indian citizenship if he "acquired the citizenship of any foreign State."

10. In spite of every effort, our rehabilitation work for the refugees has been slow. I do not think that there has been any lack of hard work or of goodwill. But the colossal magnitude of the problem and the lack of sufficient resources have prevented an adequate tackling of the problem. I think that we are proceeding now with some speed. We hope that by the end of October all our camps will have either been wound up or turned into work centres. A large number of townships are growing up and the Governor-General is soon going to Bombay to lay the foundation of a new town for refugees.⁹

11. The Karachi negotiations between the military representatives of India and Pakistan have resulted in an agreement on demarcating the ceasefire line.¹⁰ It should be remembered that this is nothing more than fixing the ceasefire line which came into existence, rather vaguely, on the 1st January. This has nothing to do with the truce line or with any other matter. This was very largely a military question and was dealt with, therefore, by our military advisers. The whole question for consideration was "what was the position on the 1st January?" Normally there should have been no great difficulty, when armies face one another. But over large tracts, winter conditions were so severe that the armies were not in touch with one another. Some people may be disappointed at the new line that has been fixed. This is understandable because, in our view, Pakistan should not be there at all. They should really retire completely from Kashmir territory. But that brings in various political considerations which have no place in a pure ceasefire matter. They have place if the truce line is discussed. As a result of the ceasefire arrangement, Pakistan armies will have to withdraw from about 300 square miles of territory which they had occupied in the north.

12. I have had the privilege, during the last fortnight, to meet many of the Premiers from the provinces and the States and we have discussed a number of matters.¹¹ Inevitably, food occupied a prominent place in our discussions. Our Food Commissioner, Shri R.K. Patil, has written to you about the various points that emerged from our discussions and I would ask you to pay very special attention to his suggestions. I am convinced more and more that this food problem is today the keystone for any kind of national recovery or progress. If we concentrate on that and make good, other things will inevitably follow, while if we drift there, then we shall drift everywhere and we shall never be able to get a grip of the situation. I would beg of you, therefore, to pay the greatest attention to food production and to the other matters allied to it.

13. A rather dramatic development has taken place in the Jodhpur desert. This was the finding of large reservoirs of underground water.¹² There is no doubt that

9. At Ulhasnagar, near Bombay, on 8 August 1949.

10. On 26 July 1949.

11. On 23-24 July 1949.

12. Successful exploratory boring was done at Samdari near Jodhpur.

there is water there, because it is pouring out abundantly. It is not clear yet what the quantity of this water is, but, in any event, it is fairly considerable. Immediate steps are being taken to have a state farm, probably controlled jointly by the Central Government and the Rajasthan Government, which will extend, to begin with, over 10,000 acres. It is probable that water will be found elsewhere also in the Rajputana desert. All this will naturally help our food production. The soil is good and with water it should immediately produce wheat or any other food crop. Perhaps this discovery of underground water in the Rajputana desert will be considered one of the more notable events of our time. It will reverse the process, which has been going on for many centuries, of the desert spreading more and more. Even now this process of desiccation continues on the borders of the United Provinces and elsewhere. Historical records tell us that Rajputana was not such a desert area in the past and that it was high road for trade from the great port of Broach in Gujarat to the north. Gradually the desert spread. There is a gap on the western side of this desert from which sands blow in from Kutch and elsewhere and spread gradually. It is proposed to deal with this gap by growing trees there. With the coming of water in the desert itself slowly but surely this advancing desert will be checked and turned back. Thus we shall register a notable triumph over the destructive aspect of nature.

14. Pakistan has recently issued an ordinance in regard to evacuee property.¹³ This ordinance is far-reaching and appears to be a breach of their undertakings to us. As a matter of fact, the Pakistan Government, even without the ordinance, was acting on those lines. The ordinance, therefore, does not make any very great practical difference. It must be remembered that so far as land and other immovable properties are concerned, they remain wherever they are and cannot run away.

15. One other matter of long-standing dispute with Pakistan relates to the disposal of canal waters in East and West Punjab. A conference about this is going to be held on the 4th August.¹⁴

16. We have a deputation in Delhi of some representatives, chiefly belonging to the Socialist Party,¹⁵ from French possessions in India.¹⁶ As you know,

13. The ordinance of the 26 July 1949 prohibited all transactions involving sale or exchange of evacuee immovable property in West Punjab, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind and Karachi, the then federal capital of Pakistan. Justifying the ordinance, the Pakistan Government stated that while Hindus were selling their property at high prices and migrating to India, the Muslims in India were either forced to sell their property at a lower price or stopped from selling it in anticipation of migrating to Pakistan.

14. The Conference held from 4 to 6 August 1949 ended inconclusively. While the Indian side insisted on joint survey of the Indus basin, Pakistan insisted on India paying for construction of additional canals in Pakistan, and referring the dispute to the International Court at The Hague.

15. The Party was formed in Pondicherry to oust the Communists who had been dominating the municipality there.

16. They were in Delhi from 16 July to 2 August 1949.

Chandernagore has decided in favour of India. Pondicherry and other places will have referendum probably in December next. The representatives who came to us belong to a party which thus far has not shown any eagerness to join India. But in view of various developments, they feel now that it is obviously to their advantage, and indeed that it is more or less inevitable, that these French possessions should join Indian Union. For our part, we are quite willing to treat these possessions, and especially Pondicherry, as a distinctive unit with a special cultural background which should be preserved. We are quite agreeable to this unit having some form of autonomy within the Indian Union.

17. Within a few days we shall welcome in New Delhi Dr Mohammad Hatta, Prime Minister of the Indonesian Republic. He will be on his way to the round table conference at The Hague.¹⁷ There are still a great many hurdles in the way of an Indonesian settlement, but I have little doubt that sometime or other these hurdles will be crossed and Indonesia will come into her own again.

18. As you know, there has been a great deal of tension, and indeed something worse than tension, between Pakistan and Afghanistan.¹⁸ At the present moment an important conference is being held in Kabul, to which many Ambassadors of Afghanistan have gone. It is clear that there is a great deal of resentment and bitterness in Afghanistan over this question. It has often been alleged on the part of Pakistan that we are encouraging Afghanistan. It has even been stated that we are pouring money into Afghanistan. All this, of course, is completely untrue. We want peace at the Frontier. But we also want peace with the goodwill of the people of the Frontier. It is not to our interest to have trouble there.

19. We have refrained from saying much about conditions in the Frontier Province or in the tribal areas, because we did not wish to appear to interfere in what were primarily Pakistan's problems. But it would be absurd to imagine that we are not intensely interested in these problems. What happens in the Frontier is likely to affect us. Apart from this, it has been a matter of deep grief to us that our gallant colleagues in the days of India's struggle for independence should be suppressed and crushed. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his brother Dr Khan Sahib, both among the foremost of the leaders who brought independence to us, continue in prison or detention and large numbers of their colleagues are also in prison. Conditions in the Frontier Province, from all accounts, are bad and there is a great deal of public dissatisfaction. We cannot view this prospect with any satisfaction. It is obvious that the Frontier Province does not enjoy even the limited autonomy that provinces are supposed to have. In the tribal areas Pakistan has indulged repeatedly in bombing from the air.

20. We stand by the commitments we have made as a consequence of the

17. The conference was held from 23 August to 2 November 1949.

18. On 29 July 1949, Radio Kabul had announced that Afghanistan would recognize 'Pathanistan' the moment it was established.

partition. But events have happened since and are happening now, which cannot be ignored and it is not surprising that a large number of Pathans who feel dissatisfied with present conditions seek to find relief from them.

21. Our Finance Minister, Dr Matthai, has recently returned from his visit to London, where he attended the Dominion Finance Ministers' Conference as well as the sterling balances talks. Within a few days he will make public the result of his discussions.¹⁹ There has been some criticism in the press and elsewhere about the decisions arrived at in London. This is largely due to ignorance. I think you will find, when the facts are known, that Dr Matthai has achieved substantial results. Indeed the position is more satisfactory in regard to the release of sterling and dollars than we had at one time expected.

22. We may get more sterling, but we have to remember always that we are eating up our reserves in this way. We have, therefore, to be very careful about using our dollars and sterling.

23. I should like to draw your attention to a passage which occurs in the report of General Dodd,²⁰ the Director General of the F.A.O. He has presented this report after his return from his tour in South East Asia. He spent some time in India also. Referring to fertilizers, he says: "The tendency to rely solely upon chemical fertilizers is dangerous; in any case, it does not build up compost and it is far more expensive, particularly in terms of foreign currencies." I am glad this warning has been given by an expert of General Dodd's standing. Personally I have long felt that we are paying more attention to chemical fertilizers than to the local stuff that we should utilize for this purpose. It is true that there is a certain public sentiment against the use of night-soil. But we must get over it. Enormous sums of money are being spent by us on buying chemical fertilizers from abroad. Apart from this, it is well known now that chemical fertilizers by themselves are bad for the soil. I suggest to you to lay stress on the use of compost. In regard to municipalities, compost machines might well be used. These convert night-soil, etc. into clean cakes which can be used as manure.

24. There has recently been an Industries Conference²¹ in New Delhi and our Minister for Industries has discussed various problems with the representatives of the provinces and of capital and labour. I should like to make it perfectly clear that there is no question of removing cloth control. There has been a great deal

19. It was announced on 4 August 1949 that the Indo-British Sterling Agreement envisaged a release of £81 million to India for 1948-49, which was not provided for in the 1948 agreement. Also, India was required to limit her imports from the dollar area by 25 per cent of the amount she spent in 1948. This limitation was not to apply to imports financed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

20. Norris Edward Dodd (1879-1968); U.S. Under Secretary of Agriculture, 1946-48; Director General, Food and Agriculture Organisation, 1948-54.

21. The Central Advisory Council on Industries met on 28 and 29 July 1949.

of agitation about this from certain rather interested sources and therefore it is as well to be clear about it.

25. Our future depends upon our production. If our production does not go up, then we cannot make progress. Our production is not likely to go up, unless prices go down and consumption is thus encouraged. How can prices come down? It is not possible to reduce wages. Therefore, the only way is to increase the individual output by methods of rationalization, etc. At the same time a certain security should be given to labour. At the present moment each group, labour or capital, tends to think of its own interest regardless of this major problem.

26. Reports reach us that the R.S.S. is again resuming some of its activities. We do not mind these activities so long as they are peaceful. But it must always be remembered that the whole mentality of the R.S.S. is a fascist mentality. Therefore, their activities have to be very closely watched.

27. We have decided that the celebrations on the 15th August should be on a modest scale.²² We are entirely opposed to any illuminations or feasting. In the circumstances prevailing in the country any large-scale celebrations would be totally unbecoming.

28. I have sent you separately a brief report by Dr Gyan Chand on the development programmes of a number of provinces which he visited.²³ To this has been added a note by the Bombay Government also. A longer report on provincial programmes by Dr Gyan Chand is being printed and will be sent to you later. These reports will enable you to keep in touch with what is happening in other provinces.

29. Many of you when visiting Delhi have complained of the frequent conferences which necessitate provincial ministers coming to Delhi. Nearly all the Governors have also written on this subject and pointed out that the work in the provinces suffers greatly from this constant stream of ministers going to Delhi, apart from the burden of cost. I think there is a great deal of truth in this and we should try to avoid too frequent conferences. On the other hand these personal contacts and discussions are desirable and help to solve many problems which might not be solved by correspondence alone. Some middle way has to be found and I hope that we shall find it.

30. In a recent bill passed by the Bihar Legislature called the Indian Medical Degrees (Bihar Amendment) Bill, reference is made to 'Western' and 'Indian' systems of medicine. This presumably refers to what might be called 'modern medicine' and 'Ayurvedic and Unani systems.' In one or two other provinces also this same nomenclature has been used. I should like to point out that this use of

22. The Union Cabinet decided on 1 August 1949 to observe independence day as a 'day of service'.

23. Not printed.

the word 'Western' and 'Indian' is completely unscientific and indeed factually not correct. What is referred to as 'Western' medicine is as much eastern as western and what is referred to as 'Indian' is equally non-Indian. Indeed the very word 'Unani' means Greek. Therefore, care should be taken that these unscientific terms are not used in this connection. Instead of 'Western medicine' the term might be 'Modern medicine' and instead of 'Indian system of medicine' we should refer specifically to the Ayurvedic and Unani systems. An Indian system of medicine must necessarily include every system that is practised in India, including modern and scientific systems.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

IV

New Delhi
August 15, 1949

My dear Premier,

I am writing this letter on the second anniversary of our independence. On this day, more particularly than others, our thoughts turn to the record both of achievements and failures in the past and to the problems of today. From the past and the present we try to peep into the future, for it is the future that is going to count. It is useful on such occasions to take a broad view of events and forces at work so as to avoid being overwhelmed by the petty problems of the day.

2. There is cause, I think, for satisfaction in the solid achievements of the past. There is cause also for distress at some developments that can only be injurious to the nation. I have referred in past letters to these unfortunate tendencies, as I have also referred to some of our achievements. Sometimes we are apt to feel distressed at the slowness of achievement and, even more so, at the lowering, in some ways, of public morale. This latter phenomenon is present in many countries as a result of the War, of economic difficulties, and uncertainty and doubt about the future.

3. I look back to a period of about thirty years ago and subsequently, and try to sense again the spirit that filled the country then. It was a spirit of confidence in our leader and his mission, in ourselves, and in the future of our country. We had little in the shape of material goods or strength behind us, yet we dared to challenge the might of a proud empire. We succeeded in gaining our independence and today we have far greater strength and above all, the freedom to work out

our destiny. Why then should we be seized by a malaise and uneasiness? Why should we doubt that future which is up to us to shape according to our will?

4. We talk about India's lack of many things, of capital goods, of financial resources, etc. and a feeling spreads among many of our people that we must get help from outside sources in order to solve our problems. There is no reason why we should not get this help provided it is on honourable terms which do not infringe in any way on our independence of action. No country can live an isolated existence in the modern world. Yet it is well to remember that the lesson the Father of the Nation taught us was to rely on ourselves and not to look too much to others for help. The strength of a nation comes from within, not from outside. It is by relying on ourselves that we achieve success. The problem before us has many facets, political, economic, social, etc. But perhaps the most important of it is the psychological aspect. If we look to ourselves and have faith in ourselves and in our destiny, all else will follow. If that is lacking, then whatever else comes is of little avail.

5. Confidence can come only in full measure if we tread a path which we believe to be right. It is this essential belief in the moral rightness of our cause and of the methods that we employed under Gandhiji's guidance, that gave us that strength in the past which brought freedom. So we have to develop afresh or to revive that moral enthusiasm for a great and elemental cause which, when it moves the people, yields magnificent results. Morality, in this context, does not mean the petty morality of the bigot or the puritan seeking to interfere with other people's lives. It means rather the larger morality of having a great cause to work for and adhering to honourable methods. It means taking a broader view of this great country and of the world and rising above pettiness of communalism, provincialism and faction.

6. Mahatma Gandhi taught us by infinite repetition the lesson of truth and nonviolence. We may argue as to what truth is and we may discuss the philosophy of nonviolence and how far it can be applied to our present-day imperfect world. But the essentials of that teaching are clear enough and appear to me to become clearer day by day. Even if we made an earnest attempt to adhere to those essentials, India and the world would be powerfully affected. Whatever the degree to which nonviolence can be applied in our external politics, it is certain that it is an inevitable necessity for our internal development. Those people, therefore, who encourage violence in India, in whatever shape or form or with whatever motive, encourage the forces of evil and disruption in this country. Out of that disruption, little good can come.

7. There is a great deal of talk about what is called left unity¹ and one sees

1. Sarat Chandra Bose had convened a meeting of the United Leftist Congress in September to give what he called "the final shape" to a "strong and consolidated leftist movement in the country", an organization not only to function as a party in opposition but "ready to assume power at any moment." The Forward Bloc, the Workers and Peasants Party of Maharashtra and the Mazdoor Trotskyites Party had agreed to join the group.

a strange assortment of people trying to cooperate together under the slogan of left unity. Leftism is a vague word which may be interpreted in many ways. Nevertheless, it has a certain significance and a certain constructive policy. Certainly none of us, who have been associated with the great Congress movement in India, is afraid of leftism, if by this word is meant the fullest political and economic democracy and the good of the masses. But leftism in India at the present moment appears to me little beyond opposition to the Congress. Grown out of a spirit of frustration, it is an infantile phenomenon with no positive ideal or policy and is adventurist in outlook. That is unfortunate because it would be a good thing for opposition parties with constructive policies to grow up in India. Without any opposition there is always a tendency towards complacency and mental and moral deterioration. Unfortunately, however, the type of leftism that we see in India appears to be just a collection of odd elements who dislike the Congress or the government and who are prepared to give up every policy which they are supposed to stand for, in search of others to line up with them.

8. It may be that the fault lies, to some extent at least, with the Congress and with the governments in India. As the dominant group both in government and in public life generally, it is for the Congress to win the cooperation of as many people as possible. Some they cannot win over, because there is a fundamental conflict between them, both in regard to policy and methods, but the door should be wide open to others.

9. In the domain of foreign affairs, the policy we have pursued, not without success, has been to try to play a distinctive role without lining up with power groups. That policy has been criticized and called ineffective. Others have said that, in spite of our declarations, circumstances are compelling us to line up with this group or that. I think both these criticisms are unjustified and we have succeeded in a large measure in keeping ourselves free from entanglements and in pursuing the path of our choice. The Commonwealth association has certainly not come in the way of our freedom of action in anyway. I think that it has been good for India and for world peace. If any people imagine that that was cloak for some kind of entanglement, they are mistaken. Inevitably our economic and other contacts are greater with some countries than with others. But that is not allowed to influence our major policy.

10. Because of this major policy, we have not aligned ourselves with any development like the Atlantic Pact or the Western Union. Because of this also, we have not encouraged the idea of a Pacific Pact.² As a matter of fact, any talk of a Pacific Pact, while the Indonesian question as well as the problem of Indo-China remain unsolved, is completely premature. Who are we to have a pact with, the Dutch Government in the East Indies or the Indonesian Republic? But apart from

2. See also Section 12, sub-section IV, item 1.

this, it is our belief that such a pact would, far from ensuring peace, be direct incentive to conflict.

11. We believe that each country should be left to choose its own political or economic structure and to live its own life within the larger framework of international cooperation. Any attempt to interfere is not only unjustified but is bound to lead to trouble. Therefore we do not seek to interfere in anyway, by pact or otherwise, in the revolutionary developments that have taken place in China. It is for the Chinese people to decide what their form of Government or economic structure should be and we must accept their decision, whether we like it or not. If we do not seek to interfere with any other country, we are also not prepared to tolerate interference of any other country in our affairs. We shall cooperate with all countries who are prepared to cooperate with us. We shall seek to learn from them what they have to teach, but we shall go our own way in conformity with the high principles which we have so often proclaimed and the special needs of India and the genius of the Indian people. We can only pursue that way in foreign affairs, if in our own domestic policy and in our internal affairs, we are broadminded and tolerant and devoted to peaceful cooperation.

12. The other major lesson that Mahatmaji taught us was ever to look to the masses and always to consider the good of the people as the primary objective to be aimed at. We encourage no class war and we do not wish to injure any group or class. But where interests conflict, it is inevitable that the interests of the common people must prevail. That is not only good morality but also good commonsense. It is the obvious consequence of democracy. Any other policy would lead to major conflicts and disruption.

13. What is the strength of the Congress today or of the Congress governments and on what is this based? There can be little doubt that, in spite of a multitude of critics, the Congress and the governments have a firm hold on the minds and hearts of our people. That is partly due to our past achievements and record of service to the country and to the people. In a present analysis it might be said that the stability of the country is based on the confidence and relative well-being of the peasantry or the workers. A certain instability comes from the heavy burdens and unemployment of the lower middle classes.

14. In the ultimate analysis, even economic conditions are less important than the belief of a people in themselves and in the governing apparatus of a country. If they have that faith in the future, they will put up with any distress for the present. Without that faith, even petty inconveniences become irritating and disruptive. We have seen this in our own past record and we have seen it and we know about it in other countries passing through periods of revolutionary change. We gain the confidence of the people of India by serving them intimately and remaining in constant touch with the masses. It is by service and such contacts that we shall retain this confidence.

15. It is interesting to remember how some countries have made remarkable

progress within a relatively short period of time, chiefly because of their faith in themselves and the hard work they put in. This can be considered quite independently of the policy to be pursued. In the early days of the Soviet Union an astonishing development took place at a time of dire peril and necessity when no outside help was available. In Japan, where an entirely different policy was pursued, an even more astonishing development took place. Manchuria and Formosa were industrialized within fifteen years or so to an amazing extent by the Japanese. There is hardly a parallel to this rapid development anywhere. It is true that Japanese policy was aimed at the imperialist expansion of Japan and not at the good of Manchuria or Formosa. But the fact to be kept in mind is the rapidity of the change when people were determined to bring it about and this change depended entirely on the resources of Japan and the country concerned. There was no outside help.

16. I feel confident that we can solve our economic and other problems, given the will to do so. The food problem has been given the first priority by us because it is the basis of all other problems. It looms large, yet it is essentially a simple problem which can be tackled successfully with speed and ease, provided there is earnestness and efficiency in the administration and an adequate response from our people. Responsibility for this depends not merely on governmental action but on many of our people going to the villages and devoting themselves to the service of the people there.

17. This morning newspapers brought the news of the counter-revolution in Syria and the execution of the President and the Prime Minister.³ This growth of violence in public affairs is a very dangerous symptom and it makes us think more of the vital importance of Gandhiji's teachings.

18. You may have read in the newspapers about a refugee demonstration in front of my house. Some thousands of refugees from two of our camps, Kurukshetra and Faridabad, which is 16 miles from Delhi, marched up and sat in front of my compound. I have always made myself available, as far as time permitted, to see refugees and to help them. In fact I have probably given more time to the refugee problem than to any other. But this kind of mass invasion, though perfectly peaceful, was evidently meant to coerce us in some undertakings for the future. I was not prepared to be coerced in this way and I made it clear to them that I would not even go to them or discuss the matter with them. At the same time I asked the police not to interfere with them, so long as there was no misbehaviour. For about 12 days this continued. It was not very pleasant for me and I do not suppose it was very pleasant for them either. Ultimately their patience gave way and they apologized to me and decided to go back to their respective camps.

19. The main reason for them to come here was the prospect of free rations being stopped by the end of October. We have declared that we shall convert all

3. See *ante*, p. 38.

our camps into work centres and stop free rations by then, and we intend to hold by this. It is wrong from every point of view to go on giving free rations. It is possible however that we may not be able to have adequate arrangements for work for all by then. Those who cannot be provided with work will continue in some measure to be our responsibility.

20. Meanwhile we are trying our best to provide this work and I would like you to take urgent steps in this matter. I am afraid some of our provinces have been rather slow about this and have not cooperated fully. It is no good leaving matters to the last date, that is October 31st. Everything should be planned previously and the change-over should be gradual.

21. I have been thinking that it would have been a good thing if we had conscripted all able-bodied refugees right at the beginning and trained them and employed them in some form of social service and public works till they found some other gainful employment. I had made some such suggestion some two years ago, but it was not accepted then. The idea has come back to me in a modified form. Those who can be provided with work in work centres will remain there. In regard to others who cannot be absorbed in this way at present, I think we might well consider their being brought under some kind of military discipline, in case they want support. There is no question of compulsion. But if they want support, they should abide by this discipline and do any work allotted to them and go anywhere they are sent. This might be done for a year. They will be better for that training and will fit in later more easily to some work or profession. If they do not want that training and help, then they are free to do what they like. But they cannot expect any help from us then. Unless we try to discipline this refugee population, we shall never solve the problem.

22. In regard to refugee children, I am very anxious that proper arrangements for education should be made. Indeed I am more anxious about the children than about the grown-ups and I must confess sorrowfully that we have not done our duty to these children. Our educational methods are slow, cumbrous and expensive. Apart from this, they seem to train people for a career of unemployment. Obviously they are not suited for these refugee children. The only proper method for them was and is the Sevagram basic school method, that is, the Nai Talim. We have now asked the Nai Talim people as well as the Jamia Millia people, who are associated with them, to undertake the work of educating the refugee children. It is a very big task, which will strain their energies and resources to the utmost. I am glad to say that Shri Aryanayakam⁴ and Ashadevi⁵ of the Nai Talim as well as Dr Zakir Husain and others of the Jamia Millia have partly accepted this great

4. E.W. Aryanayakam, of Sri Lanka, was secretary to Rabindranath Tagore for some time, later joined Mahatma Gandhi to work for the Hindustani Talimi Sangh at Wardha; died in 1967.

5. Ashadevi Aryanayakam.

responsibility. To begin with, they are taking charge of two of our camps and townships, Rajpura and Faridabad. I hope they will extend their activities.

23. In regard to cottage industries which are so important, more especially for the refugees, I feel that we must entrust the work largely to the All India Village Industries Association,⁶ the All India Spinners' Association⁷ and allied organizations like the Gandhi Ashram, Meerut. This is also being done to some extent. I might add here that in the matter of cottage industries, as in many other matters, the Japanese have done remarkably well. Our Ministry of Rehabilitation sent an officer to Japan and he has returned with a multitude of ideas.

24. At a recent press conference⁸ I made special reference to the Delhi Correspondent of the *Blitz* and subsequently this correspondent was deprived of permission to function as an accredited correspondent in Delhi. I must say that I have been amazed at the utter irresponsibility of some of our journals and the way they give publicity to the wildest and the most improbable rumours. It is bad enough to have these false and exaggerated statements about our domestic affairs; it is much worse in regard to foreign affairs, where they affect our foreign relations. It was because of this that we felt compelled to take this action against the *Blitz* correspondent. I think you will agree with me that we have been singularly tolerant of the stream of abuse and falsehood that flows from some of our journals. We have deliberately not interfered with criticism, even false and malicious criticism. But there is a limit to this, more especially when it affects our relations with other countries.

25. In all that we may undertake, the only sound basis for it is adequate information in the shape of statistics. We are, therefore, building up a central institute of statistics. Meanwhile, I would specially draw your attention to your government supplying our Education Ministry with educational statistics. There is great delay in sending these with the result that they are of little use. The all-India general educational tables for 1944-45 were only published a few months back. Obviously this is not good enough. I am told that the delay is largely due to the slackness of provincial governments in this matter. We are supposed to supply all-India statistics to Unesco and if delay occurs, we are criticized unfavourably. Apart from criticism, it affects our own work and we cannot make progress. I would, therefore, request you very specially to see to it that these educational statistics are supplied with speed and accuracy to our Education Ministry.

26. About food, I would like to emphasize again that this is the first priority and it is the responsibility of your whole government and not only of your minister

6. Gandhiji had set up the All India Village Industries Association in 1934 to revive village industries "to stop the progressive poverty in the villages and save them from complete ruin."
7. An institution, founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1925 at Sevagram, whose members were required to work exclusively for the constructive programme in which a place of prominence was given to promotion of khadi and cottage industries.
8. On 5 August 1949. See *ante*, Section 1, item 3.

of Agriculture. I hope you have appointed your commissioner of food production and formed a cabinet sub-committee to guide him.

27. The second point to be remembered is that minor irrigation works are to be pushed. Most engineers and others like to be connected with major schemes. That is understandable, but the fact remains that the small schemes are important and have to be pushed today. I suggest that your Public Works Department should definitely concentrate on these small schemes and, if necessary, it can stop the construction of new buildings and roads for the next year or two.

28. At the last conference⁹ held here on this subject, it was noticed that there was a certain lack of coordination between the Food Ministers and the Agriculture Ministers. Obviously there must be complete cooperation between the two in each province.

29. The fourth point is the development of our organic manurial resources, that is mainly the utilization of night-soil. Our intensive cultivation depends largely upon this.

30. Fifthly, I should like to stress the importance of linking up production and procurement. Our Food Commissioner has written to you about these matters and I am merely repeating what he has told you.

31. It would be a good thing if all our schools took a special interest in this food problem—both in production and in avoidance of waste. Also in some change in food habits. This would have a powerful psychological effect, though the practical results might not be much. This has struck me because some schools wrote to me on the subject. Talk should be given to the children about avoiding waste, etc. and they should be asked to grow something roundabout the school, if possible. This personal work and interest, which no doubt they will carry home with them, will influence large numbers of people.

32. In my last broadcast on food,¹⁰ I suggested that every individual should grow some food in the same way as Gandhiji asked everyone to spin. It is possible to grow something in a small pot or a box. I suggest that this idea should be spread. It also has a powerful psychological effect.

33. The Constituent Assembly is carrying on its labours. There has been particular excitement in regard to two or three questions—the language question and a certain section dealing with compensation for property acquired. I should like to draw your particular attention to the Congress Working Committee's resolution¹¹ on language. That resolution does not deal with the State language as such, but it deals with the use of our languages for administrative and educational purposes. The basic principle is that each person should be educated in his own mother tongue as far as possible.

9. Held in Delhi from 22 to 24 July 1949.

10. On 6 August 1949. See Section 2, item 21.

11. See *ante*, p. 177.

34. We have recently had a visit of a distinguished African leader, Dr Koinange¹² from East Africa.¹³ His visit is important as bringing the question of Africa before our people. Africa is undoubtedly going to play an important part in the future and many people there look to India for help and sympathy. We have made it clear that we do not want any Indian interests in Africa or elsewhere which in any way come in the way of the progress of the people there. We hope to go much further and help in this progress by providing scholarships for the education of their students.

35. The Governor-General referred recently in a speech¹⁴ in Bombay to the plight of the middle classes in India. He suggested that many of them will have to think in terms of other occupations than those to which they have been used in the past. That is to say that what have been called the white-collar occupations are not enough to absorb the large numbers of our young men and women who come out of our universities. There is an alarming degree of unemployment among these products of our universities, who all seem to look forward to some kind of state service or other office work, even though that may be far less paid than some forms of manual labour. It is well known that an average worker in a factory or even a porter at a railway station often earns much more than a clerk in an office. Yet in the minds of some there is a mistaken notion that it is degrading to work in the factory or in the farm. There are many causes which have led to the distress of the middle classes, and more especially the lower middle class, in India. Inevitable changes have taken place for which they are not responsible, but which affect them. But this dislike of manual labour is perhaps one minor cause and the sooner we get rid of it, the better. In the modern world, whether capitalist or socialist, the man who can use his hands as a mechanic or technician or engineer or farmer, is far more important than clerk in the office. We have suffered in the past from a semi-feudal outlook of looking down on labour and that pursues us still to some extent. Gandhiji attacked this outlook and always laid stress on the dignity of labour. He described himself, quite rightly, as a worker, a spinner, a weaver and even a sweeper.

36. Our educational system must direct itself to the eradication of this unwholesome outlook. The National Planning Committee, some years ago, suggested that before a person graduated, he must put in a year or so to some kind of manual work or social service. That would take the place of the military service that prevails in countries which have conscription. In the course of that year the

12. Peter Moiye Koinange (b. 1907); Kenyan politician; co-founder, Kenya African Union, 1946; Minister of State for Pan-African Affairs, Kenya, 1963-65; Minister of Education, 1965-66; Minister of State at the President's Office, 1966-78; Minister for Natural Resources, 1978-79.

13. He visited India from 1 August 1949 for a lecture-study tour of three months.

14. At a press conference on 10 August 1949.

young man or woman would be given simple training in drill and discipline and then in disciplined work of any kind, which may include the erection of public works or adult literacy campaigns, etc. This year of physical labour combined with a disciplined life would be good for the individual and would be good for the community. It would result in a new conception of labour. It should apply to every person, whatever his status in life. I think this proposal of the National Planning Committee was a good one and we should try to give effect to it. We may begin in a relatively small way, because it will not be easy to organize on a large scale suddenly.

37. I have referred earlier in this letter to the great progress made in Japan previous to the War. Both the Russian example and the Japanese, so utterly different in their approaches and in the objectives aimed at, teach us many lessons of what can be done by a people, if they are disciplined and hard working and can plan. Japan probably has even more to teach us in this respect, because Russia gives us a very complicated picture, much of which we like and much of which we dislike. In Japan also, there was much we disliked. But the lesson to learn is the will to achieve and of achievement, without any substantial outside aid. Both these countries built up their social capital through their own efforts. If outside help is available, the process is speedier and therefore outside aid should be welcomed. But a reliance on too much outside aid may result in a feeling of helplessness without aid and that is a dangerous and harmful feeling. Therefore we must only think of outside aid as an accessory, the main thing being our own effort. That effort must not only be disciplined but also planned, or else there is waste. It is this careful planning that both Russia and Japan have to teach us.

38. In our country, situated as it is, it is inevitable that the State should help in this planning on a large scale, even though a great part of our national economy be left to private enterprise. But the State can only help people who help themselves and who bring a certain enthusiasm to the task. They must have a feeling that they are building something that is permanent, that in fact they are the builders of the new India. If that feeling pervades them, then all work becomes a pleasure, bringing a certain satisfaction, and all inconveniences are of little account.

39. As you know, I believe in our taking the best out of the West. I do not believe in a narrow nationalism and I think that India came down in the scale of nations in the past because of her narrowness in outlook and because of many evil customs that developed and fed this narrowness and exclusiveness. Nevertheless I am quite clear in my mind that we shall not make real progress by trying to copy Western methods and ways of life. We shall have to hold to our anchor and build on our own foundations. Those foundations were well and truly laid by Gandhiji.

40. Today, the anniversary of independence, was celebrated simply and solemnly in Delhi. No doubt such celebrations took place all over India also. Here in Delhi, we went in the early morning to pay our homage to the beloved leader and Father of our Nation, whose memory has become such a vital part of ourselves.

Then followed a ceremony at the Red Fort where the flag of India was unfurled before a mighty gathering of about half a million persons. It was a noble sight which filled one with deep joy and faith. The troubles of the moment seem to pass away and the road to progress for our people seems to lie clear ahead.

41. Sometimes many of us may feel a little tired and a little down-hearted because of those troubles and difficulties that pursue us, and because of our own failings and little mindedness and lack of faith, and there may even be a tendency to escape from this hard labour which does not always appear to bear fruit. Yet there is no escape and there must be no escape, for we are committed and pledged and dedicated to a cause, and there is no happiness except in working for that cause. Also good work and honest work must necessarily bear fruit. Of that I am convinced.

42. Today, on this anniversary, I feel full of confidence for the future and I want to share this confidence with you. As I write this, I look at a picture of Gandhiji and a multitude of ideas come to my mind. I think of the great brotherhood he built up in this country and his infinite labour in training our people. That great work has borne substantial fruit already. But it will yield even greater fruit in the future, and so I send you greetings and promise of hard work and successful work in this year to come. It matters little what happens to us. It matters a great deal what happens to India and to the people of India. May we serve them to the utmost of our ability in this year to come.

Your sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11

KASHMIR

I. The Ceasefire and the U.N.C.I.P.

1. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
June 29, 1949

My dear Krishna,

As Dr Matthai is going to London, I am sending this letter with him. As I have told you, I shall soon be going to Ladakh, the roof of the world as they call it, and I shall be completely cut off for a few days from the world's happenings. That will certainly be good for me and I do not suppose the world will suffer.

Nevertheless all of us get entangled and find it difficult to disentangle. I am particularly worried about the Kashmir situation, not from the United Nations' point of view, but because Pakistan is doing everything possible to prepare for an early invasion of Kashmir on a big scale. Their troops are being concentrated in 'Azad Kashmir' territory and on their own borders of Jammu province. Large numbers of tribal folk have been brought back to the Kashmir borders. The Pakistan press shouts war. Internal conditions in Pakistan are pretty bad and may well lead to Pakistan leaders to indulge in some external adventure in order to divert attention.

All this is very annoying. At the same time I can hardly believe that Pakistan would indulge in an invasion while the U.N. Commission people are sitting in Srinagar. Yet every other indication points that way. Anyway, we have to be mentally and otherwise prepared for any development. Such a development might well be a rapid one.

Bajpai and I had a talk today and we felt that a special memorandum of recent developments in Kashmir, say from the 1st of January when the ceasefire took place, should be prepared for presentation to the U.K. and the U.S.A. Governments. A memorandum would go some way no doubt. But as the situation is serious, it should be supported with other facts and figures. We could send the memorandum to you for presentation to Attlee. But it might be difficult for you to answer many questions that might arise and which would require a great deal of local knowledge. Therefore, a suggestion has been made, and is being considered by us, that Bajpai accompanied by one of our military officers might go to London for this purpose. You and he could see Attlee on this subject and discuss this matter specially. Bajpai's going there for this particular purpose would make the U.K. Government realize its utmost importance.

We have not decided anything about this yet. But I am inclined to think that Bajpai should go with the military officer. We want to put the position straight before Attlee and to ask him quite frankly what the U.K. Government is going to do about it. We shall of course let you know, as soon as we have decided about Bajpai's going. This will have to be done in the course of the next two or three days.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

Attlee, of course, and Stafford must be full of their dollar and other economic difficulties and will hardly be in a position to think of other matters. But we cannot allow matters to drift in regard to Kashmir because of the preoccupation of Attlee and Stafford.

Matthai will probably also say something about Kashmir to Attlee. But he does not know very much and can hardly answer any questions that might be asked.

It is possible that the question of devaluation of sterling might be raised at the Finance Ministers' Conference.² I do not know much about these matters. But it seems to me that it would be very injurious to us if we accept any such thing and thereby drag the rupee down too. However you will no doubt discuss this and allied matters with Matthai.

Matthai dislikes wandering about and leaving his home. He is not at all looking forward to going to England and disturbing his normal routine. I do not think he has met Attlee or Stafford, certainly not the latter. You will of course introduce him to them. I should like him to have opportunities of meeting Stafford informally.

There are vague talks here that Stafford might resign. I do not know how far this is true. But I would be sorry if he had to do so.

The position of West Bengal and especially Calcutta is a bad one. Dr Bidhan Roy has gone to Switzerland for eye treatment and his Ministry is much too weak and he has hardly any grip of the situation. On my return from Ladakh, I shall go to Calcutta. After that we shall have to consider very carefully what steps we have to take not only in West Bengal but elsewhere also. I am afraid we have all got rather into a rut. Sardar Patel is somewhat weaker than he was previously. I rather doubt if he will ever regain even his old standard of health.

I am sending a letter through Matthai for Edwina. Could you please have it sent to her by air mail to her Cyprus address?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

2. On 29 June 1949, the British Treasury announced that a Conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers would be convened in London to discuss "the dollar situation, which is engaging the close attention of all the Commonwealth countries."

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 29, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

There was a Cabinet meeting today at which a number of matters were disposed of. One or two matters we have kept over, till your return.

At the end of the Cabinet meeting, there was a general discussion about the situation in the country, more especially in West Bengal. Syama Prasad was of opinion that we should have general elections on the old basis and franchise in all the provinces by the end of this year. The new Assembly elected would of course function only till the other general election under the Constitution. Of course if we have elections on the old basis, some changes will have to be made. For instance, no separate electorates and may be a somewhat smaller number of people elected.

If we have these elections, it will mean a good deal of trouble for us and for the country. But I am somewhat attracted to the idea. It will be a challenge to the country and to the people and the present staleness in our governmental work will become much less. I should like you to think about this, so that we can discuss the matter in the Working Committee and otherwise on your return.

Matthai is going to London tomorrow. I have suggested to him that if he considers it necessary, he might go to Washington for a few days also. This may delay his return somewhat.

The situation in England regarding dollars is very bad.² This will affect us. Of course there may be a question of devaluation of the pound sterling. So far as I can see, we should not agree to any such thing, which affects the value of our rupee and which automatically reduces the value of our sterling balances.

The situation in Kashmir, that is Pakistan's military movements, is getting more and more odd. From all accounts that we receive, Pakistan troops are being concentrated in 'Azad Kashmir' and on the border. This can only lead to one conclusion, that Pakistan intends mischief. If suddenly they started an invasion with tanks, etc. it is quite possible that they could break through and cut our lines of communication, etc. round about Naushahra. It is not difficult for an army taking the initiative to go ahead. We are discussing this matter with our military chiefs.

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 249-250.

2. The British Government had instructed all purchase departments of the Government to postpone all dollar purchases to the maximum extent practicable and to continue with that "standstill agreement" for three months. On 6 July, Stafford Cripps announced in the House of Commons that the gold and dollar reserves of the sterling area had fallen from £471 to £460 million in the quarter ending on 30 June 1949.

Personally I cannot conceive how Pakistan can take any forward step of this kind just at this moment when the Commission is sitting there. But internal conditions in Pakistan are bad and they might want to gamble.

Cariappa and Vishnu Sahay wanted to accompany me to Ladakh. I am however asking them to stay on here in case there are developments.

We are preparing a special memorandum on recent developments in Kashmir for the U.K. and U.S. Governments. I am inclined to think that it might be worthwhile to send Bajpai to England with this memorandum, so that he can personally see Attlee about it. If this has to be done, it will have to be fairly soon.

I do not particularly like the idea of my going to Ladakh just at this moment, though I do not expect anything unusual will happen. In the balance I think it is as well that I should go.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram 543 dated 30th June to Bajpai regarding interview with Acheson about Kashmir.²

We propose to send you soon statement on Kashmir to be communicated to State Department. This will outline our present position and our apprehensions in regard to Pakistan. I might inform you that there is no intention on our part of weakening on this issue here or elsewhere.³ We have gone to farthest limit and

1. New Delhi, 2 July 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. In his interview on 30 June 1949 Acheson called for an early settlement of Kashmir issue and added that "it was a pity that a man of Nimitz's eminence and reputation should be appointed as Plebiscite Administrator and then made to sit idle." Vijayalakshmi replied that India was keen to settle the dispute and "it was not India's fault" if the question was not settled. She took strong exception to the Pakistan Government's offer to U.N. Commission "to supply food free of cost to the people of Kashmir valley under India's control" and described it as "outrageous piece of propaganda."

3. In her telegram Vijayalakshmi feared that the United States would put economic pressure "in order to compel us to settle the Kashmir dispute" as was evident from talks at the State Department with B.R. Sen when he sought to explain India's stand on U.N.C.I.P. truce proposals. She added that "we will gain nothing in the present atmosphere by showing weakness."

this should be made perfectly clear to all concerned. No pressure or veiled threats are going to change our opinion or our action which we consider on both moral and practical grounds to be perfectly justifiable. War in Kashmir is not of our seeking. But we are not going to surrender to aggression or hand over people of Kashmir to brutalities of Pakistan and their friends. It is no good for anyone to press us for a settlement as if we are coming in the way. I might mention entirely for your personal information that while all other members of United Nations Kashmir Commission are more or less impartial or friendly to us, American member⁴ is definitely hostile. Presumably he gets his directions from Washington.⁵ Why this should be so, I cannot understand.

4. Robert B. Macatee.

5. On 3 June 1949, Acheson, in a cable to Macatee, suggested that "in event of rejection of truce terms U.N.C.I.P. should endeavour continue negotiations ... (but) feels recent developments may make such U.N.C.I.P. efforts of no avail. Should U.N.C.I.P. share this view Department suggests you propose in U.N.C.I.P. consideration be given possibility that truce disagreement be submitted with consent of two parties to arbitration by impartial third party."

4. To G.S. Bajpai¹

New Delhi

July 3, 1949

My dear Girija,

I had a talk with the Czech² today, also later a few words with Leguizamon.³ Vishnu Sahay must have told you of developments and what the Czech says. The Commission is sending on tomorrow to Delhi and Karachi a proposal that the soldiers on either side should meet (at Karachi this time) to fix a ceasefire line definitely without prejudice to any claims of either party.⁴ They suggest that the meeting should take place on July 11.

1. File No. 52/335/NGO-55, M.E.A.

2. Oldrich Chyle, member of U.N.C.I.P. from Czechoslovakia.

3. Carlos A. Leguizamon, member of U.N.C.I.P. from Argentina, 1948-50.

4. On 3 July, the Commission invited military representatives from India and Pakistan to a military conference from 11 July at Karachi aimed at "reaching an agreement over a definite truce line based on factual positions at the moment of the ceasefire on 1 January 1949."

I indicated to Leguizamon, who mentioned this to me, that it would be a good thing if such a definite line was fixed and that it should be a clear geographical feature. He did not mention any date to me, nor did we have any further talk on this subject.

I suppose we must agree to this procedure. Thus only question we have to consider is the date.⁵ The Czech suggests delay at every step—but there are limits to this kind of thing. No doubt he will delay at this end whenever he has the chance. He wants the report of the Commission not to go to the Security Council before September just about the time the U.N. General Assembly meets. Also he is opposed to the appointment of a mediator or arbitrator.⁶ We agree with him in this.

If you can reasonably have a date fixed for the ceasefire line meeting some days later than the dates suggested, try to do so. You can't postpone it.

I think Thimayya⁷ must go to the meeting. He knows this business better than anyone else and as the General commanding this area he can speak with authority and personal knowledge. Vishnu Sahay should also go.

Arrangements have been made to keep me in touch with Delhi. So you can always send a message through Western Command or Thimayya. I can send a reply too.

I hope you have sent a copy of our Kashmir memorandum by air to our embassy in Washington.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. The meeting was held from 18 to 28 July 1949.
6. While the American and the Belgian members on the U.N.C.I.P. proposed that the Commission should ask both India and Pakistan to agree to arbitration of the Kashmir dispute, Chyle proposed that the Commission should insist on bilateral direct negotiations between the two countries.
7. K.S. Thimayya.

5. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
July 11, 1949

Nan dear,

Your letter of the 1st July reached me today.

I returned from Ladakh two days ago and am going tomorrow morning to Calcutta, where I face a very tough situation. Ladakh was rather exciting, because

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

it was unusual and I like these bare mountains and high altitudes. The flight over the Himalayas with glaciers and snow-capped peaks all round was magnificent....

The U.S.A. have got themselves into a muddle by hurrying Nimitz's appointment.² We did not ask for it. All along we have made it quite clear that the function of the plebiscite administrator in Kashmir does not arise till many other matters have been settled. Still they wanted to appoint him and they did so. We cannot help that because, so far as we are concerned, the plebiscite administrator is not going to function at all, till a truce has been agreed to and partly implemented.

There has been a proposal that Nimitz should be appointed some kind of an arbitrator or mediator. We are going to have no arbitrator anyhow and I rather doubt if we are going to have a mediator. Even if there is any mediator for any particular limited issue, there seems to be no reason why Nimitz should be such a person. What is the Commission here for?

On this Kashmir issue, as I have already told you, there is going to be no weakness on our side. We shall be polite but firm. I wonder if you have met Lozano.³ He has been rather decent and understanding.

In about a week's time a meeting of military officers will take place at Karachi to endeavour to lay down a definite ceasefire line. Thus far Pakistan has been encroaching all the time. Whether this meeting will lead to an agreement or not, I do not know.

Yours,
Jawahar

2. While the U.N.C.I.P. resolution of 5 January 1949 provided for the appointment of a plebiscite administrator to function after the ceasefire and truce arrangements set forth in Part I and Part II of the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948 had been carried out, the U.N. Secretary-General on 21 March 1949 appointed Chester N. Nimitz of the United States as plebiscite administrator.
3. Alfredo Lozano from Columbia resigned from the U.N.C.I.P. on 24 June 1949 because of a change of Government in his country.

6. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
July 27, 1949

My dear Shaikh Sahib,

I have just received your letter dated the 25th July.²

Today's papers contain the news that a ceasefire agreement has been arrived at Karachi.³ We do not know the precise details of this, but on the whole we know what has probably happened. General Srinagesh and Vishnu Sahay came here to consult us a few days ago and we gave them general indications of how far they should go.

We were very anxious about two matters: first, that our military line should be secure and more particularly our lines of communication should be completely protected; secondly, that there should be no possibility of enemy infiltrations. As you point out in your letter, these infiltrations have given us a great deal of trouble, more particularly on the Kishenganga side. These have to be stopped. The choice before us was: no agreement on the ceasefire line and hence every possibility of continuing infiltrations with possibilities of conflict on a small scale in various places. As you will appreciate, in the mountain regions of the north, unless a very definite and precise ceasefire line is laid down, there is always a possibility of infiltration. It was, therefore, very much to our advantage to have this definite line laid down. This would make it easy to stop every encroachment and infiltration. In the discussions that took place in Karachi we pressed hard for the line of the Kishenganga, Masol, etc. which we had considered with you. At the present moment the Pakistanis had come down pretty far in the Kishenganga sector and were continually endangering our lines of communication on the Ladakh side as well as towards Handwara and the Lolab and Tilal valleys. Ultimately it became clear to us that either the negotiations break down or we accept something which is somewhat less than we had wanted. We examined the second possibility very carefully and our military advisers told us that from the military point of view

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In his letter Abdullah drew attention to a "disquieting report" about "enemy infiltrators" in the Kishenganga sector and submitted that "we have all along been very apprehensive of the results of any concession to the enemy in regard to the fixation of the ceasefire and truce line in this area. Our apprehensions are coming out true."

3. As per the agreement signed on 27 July 1949 the two countries had defined a line "running from the Manavar area in the south to a point near Keran in the north, and had also reached general accord on the line from Retagh Chhish (a mile top near Gurais) to Masol" and called upon troops of both sides to be 500 yds. from ceasefire line except where Kishenganga constituted the line. Both the Governments ratified the agreement on 30 July 1949.

they were quite secure if they were given the new positions envisaged in the second possibility. This was that our forces should advance to within two or three miles of the Kishenganga and occupy the high ground there overlooking the river. This would give them military control of the river itself from the high ground, although the Pakistanis could come across the river for two miles. Thus from a military point of view we were much better off than we have been there. In addition the Pakistanis will have to retire from a large tract of territory which they at present occupy, involving probably about 200 or 300 square miles. This would immediately relieve the Lolab and Tilal valleys and the Handwara region and we would be occupying a strong position overlooking the Kishenganga. Of course we would have preferred to be right at the bank of the Kishenganga, but the factual proof put forward on both sides about the 1st January position was rather against us and the alternative was no agreement and the Pakistanis continuing to hold that large tract of territory south of the Kishenganga and infiltrating and encroaching all the time.

In the balance, we do not get some points that we wanted for the ceasefire line but we get many important points and areas which are at present occupied by Pakistanis. We gain civil administration over these areas and a much stronger military position which would make it easy for us to stop all infiltration from other side. It has been made perfectly clear that this is a ceasefire line and not a truce line or anything else.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
July 30, 1949

My dear Bakshi,

Your letter of the 29th.² In your note you indicate that we have given up something that we possessed on the 1st January. Our soldiers tell us that this is

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In his letter Bakshi regretted that by the ceasefire line agreement "we have conceded an important right of holding the south bank of river Kishenganga in favour of Pakistan, a right which neither facts nor any other factor would entitle them to possess," added that he and his colleagues were "depressed at the turn of events" and complained that one of them should have been associated with discussions on "vital matters."

not so and the whole argument was based on possession on 1st January. No other test was applied. Many of the points we made could not be substantiated by facts of possession. Please discuss this matter with General Thimayya who will, no doubt, explain to you all that has happened. What we have gained is substantial and Pakistan is evacuating a large territory. The alternative to this was to remain where we are and have continuous trouble and danger to our lines of communication. We have not secured what you and I wanted, but we have definitely, I think, gained and made the territory we hold strong and secure and the lines of communication safe.

It is our desire always to associate someone of you in all such discussions. Unfortunately we cannot get you here every time. We have made it perfectly clear that this has nothing to do with the truce line.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To F.R.R. Bucher¹

New Delhi
August 7, 1949

My dear Roy Bucher,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th July. I was glad to have news of you and Maureen.²

I have had a fairly trying time during these past few months. The rains came and they were welcome. But the way they came was not very welcome. We had 13 inches of rain in Delhi in a little over two days. Great parts of Delhi became huge lakes and the refugee population suffered terribly. Many of the hutments that we were trying to build for them were swept away. Crowds of them besieged my house and we had to find temporary accommodation for thousands. Several hundreds were accommodated in some of the buildings in Government House grounds.

You write about Kashmir and you are perfectly right in thinking that I am greatly attached to it. This is something much more than romanticism for a mountain. There are plenty of mountains in India apart from Kashmir. I am attached to Kashmir for a large variety of reasons. It may be that many of them are sentimental. But

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Lady Bucher.

normally I am not moved by sentiment and in this Kashmir matter one thing I am not going to tolerate is Pakistan's behaviour, whatever the consequences. If it is once tolerated it would mean disruption. The very thing you fear will spread in the country.

I shall be going to the U.S. in October and just passing through England on my way there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Horace Alexander¹

New Delhi
August 7, 1949

My dear Horace,

Thank you for your letter² of the 7th with the note on your visit to Pakistan. I am afraid what Gurmani told you does not impress me in the least.³ Before Nimitz could come here, the previous part of the U.N. resolution has to be fulfilled about disbanding all 'Azad Kashmir' forces and disarmament. It is true that Pakistan forces have been withdrawn to some extent,⁴ but large forces of another kind, well trained by Pakistan officers, have taken their place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. In their letter, Alexander and Leslie Cross informed Nehru about their stay in Pakistan from 29 July to 5 August 1949.
3. M.A. Gurmani and many Pakistani officials informed Alexander and Cross that they were eager to see Nimitz "conducting a plebiscite."
4. Alexander and Cross had written that almost all Pakistani forces had been withdrawn from Kashmir and most responsible people "recognized that none of the local forces should remain in this area during the time of the preparation of the plebiscite, and that they would be under strict surveillance of the U.N. observers, and subject to any fresh orders that Admiral Nimitz may think proper to issue."

10. To Shibban Lal Saxena¹

New Delhi
August 9, 1949

My dear Shibban Lal,

My attention has been drawn only today to a statement² you issued to the press on the 29th July in regard to the agreement on the ceasefire line in Kashmir.

I am surprised to read this statement which is full of wrong facts and wrong inferences. It seems to me extraordinary that such statements should be made by any member of the Constituent Assembly without first satisfying himself about the facts. It is completely untrue to say that we are giving up any territory or strategic points on the Kishenganga or near it or on the Burzil Pass. In fact Pakistan is withdrawing from about three hundred sq. miles or more. Secondly, it is completely false to state that any of our military experts refused to accede to the demands of Pakistan in regard to the ceasefire line and because of this they had to come back to Delhi for fresh instructions. It is not usual to refer in public to private discussions with our advisers, but I can tell you that what you have written has not got an atom of truth in it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. In his statement Saxena expressed his "bitter disappointment" at the ceasefire agreement because "by yielding on the issue of control of the Kishenganga river and the Burzil Pass the Government of India have surrendered once again to Pakistan's obstinacy." Nehru had asked Pakistan to withdraw all her forces from Kashmir once Pakistan had admitted that she had sent her forces; but "instead we find that Government are admitting the right of Pakistan on parts of Kashmir."

11. The Problem of 'Azad Kashmir' Forces¹

The proposals² made by the Commission for joint meetings at ministerial level will have to be carefully considered in conference with Mr Gopalaswami

1. Note to Secretary-General, 10 August 1949. File No. 52/339/NGO-55, M.E.A.
2. On 9 August 1949 the Commission suggested a joint political meeting from 17 August 1949 to discuss a truce agreement for the implementation of the Part II of the U.N.C.I.P. resolution of 13 August 1948. The provisional agenda suggested for the meeting as spelled out in the U.N.C.I.P. resolution of 13 August 1948 included: (1) adoption of the agenda, (2) withdrawal of Pakistani armed forces from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, (3) withdrawal of tribesmen and all Pakistani nationals normally residents in the State of Jammu and Kashmir who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting, (4) withdrawal of the bulk of the Indian armed forces from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and (5) related questions.

Ayyangar. I think it is essential that the Kashmir Government should be associated with the consideration of these proposals right from the beginning. How this is to be done is not quite clear to me, because the only persons who can be of real help are Shaikh Abdullah or Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. One of them will have to come here. Shaikh Abdullah was here, but I understand he is going away early tomorrow morning. If he has not already gone, he might be asked to come to the office tomorrow morning to consider these papers.

Because it is necessary to consult the Kashmir Government, it is hardly possible to fix the 17th of this month for the conference. Apart from this, presumably a further exchange of notes has to take place with the Commission before we can be quite clear about the conference.

Subject to what I have said above, the proposal for joint meetings at ministerial level can be accepted³ and Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar be requested to represent the Government of India.

I think that some clear reference should be made in our reply to the question of disbanding and disarming of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces. In fact in paragraph 4 of the memorandum of Pakistan's reply it is stated that the Pakistan Army will reorganize the 'Azad Kashmir' forces, so as to facilitate the implementation of decisions relating to point 4 (b) of the Commission's resolution of 5th January 1949. If the 'Azad Kashmir' forces are to be disbanded, the question of reorganizing them does not arise. Therefore it becomes important that this question of disbanding and disarming the 'Azad Kashmir' forces should be settled at an early stage.

I do not like the idea of the plebiscite administrator being brought into the discussion even before he is formally appointed as such. The actual implementation regarding disbanding and disarming of 'Azad Kashmir' forces may take place later. But a clear understanding about them has to be arrived at earlier. Unless this is done, the subsequent steps can hardly be taken.

A copy of this note might be sent to Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar and some time fixed for a conference.

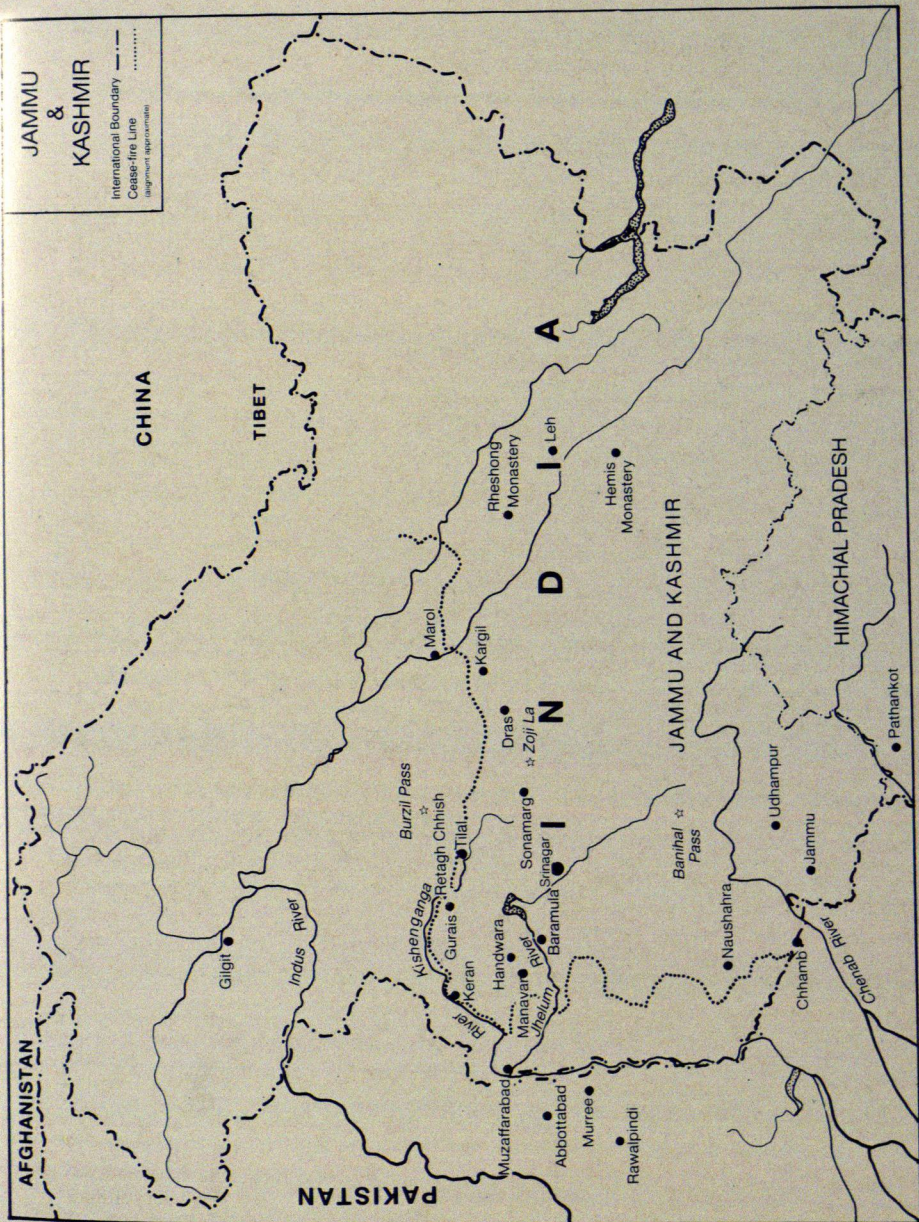
3. On 11 August the Indian Government accepted the invitation for the ministerial conference but asked for a clarification of the phrase "local authority" in the resolution of 13 August 1948 of U.N.C.I.P.—the authority to which would be handed over the administration after the withdrawal of Indo-Pakistan forces; and wanted measures for disbanding and disarming of 'Azad Kashmir' forces and administration "of northern areas under Jammu and Kashmir Government and defence by Army of northern areas" to be included in the agenda.

12. Kashmir and the United States¹

I confess that I am not at all satisfied with the memorandum² which the U.S. Ambassador gave to you conveying the views of the State Department in regard to the Kashmir issue and more especially the attitude India had taken. You have dealt with this matter fairly exhaustively in your conversation with the Ambassador.³ I am inclined to think that it might be worthwhile sending some kind of a brief written reply.

The criticism made by U.S. officials that we have unduly emphasized the legal and military security aspects of the problem, seems to me to proceed from a certain ignorance of or ignoring the whole basis and inception of this problem. As you have pointed out, we have not been legalistic at all and we have agreed to many things which may be said to have weakened our legal position. The basic fact is that Pakistan encouraged and helped the invasion of Kashmir and thus committed an act of aggression. It is not denied and it is inferentially admitted by the Commission that from any point of view, legal or moral, this was an act of aggression. Pakistan denied this and actually sent their own regular army within Kashmir State territory. When this could no longer be hidden, they had to admit it. Both the legal and moral issues as well as questions of security become of high importance to us. There can be no decision about Kashmir to which we can agree unless this moral issue is disposed of.

1. Note to Secretary-General, 10 August 1949. File No. 52/339/NGO-55, M.E.A.
2. Loy W. Henderson submitted a memorandum on 9 August 1949 on behalf of the State Department expressing their concern about the slow progress of the truce agreement in Kashmir. "Stress on military security factors", the memorandum stated, "makes it appear that the Government of India lacks confidence in the United Nations' ability to implement a peaceful settlement of the dispute." It further alleged that the refusal of the Government of India, in connection with the Commission's truce proposals of 28 April, to permit the Commission prior to signing of the truce agreement to inform the Government of Pakistan of the Indian schedule of troop withdrawals reflected an emphasis on both security and legal aspects. The oversensitiveness from the Indian side was also said to indicate "the possibility of renewed hostility in Kashmir."
3. The U.S. memorandum was in response to Henderson's meeting with Bajpai on 29 July 1949. The meeting was held at the request of Bajpai who wanted to clarify the doubts of American officials that India was not acting in good faith regarding Kashmir and was endeavouring to avoid a plebiscite. Henderson emphasized the need for conciliatory attitude on the part of India and Pakistan Governments in solving the Kashmir problem as it was coming in the way of "effective economic assistance to India" from the United States.



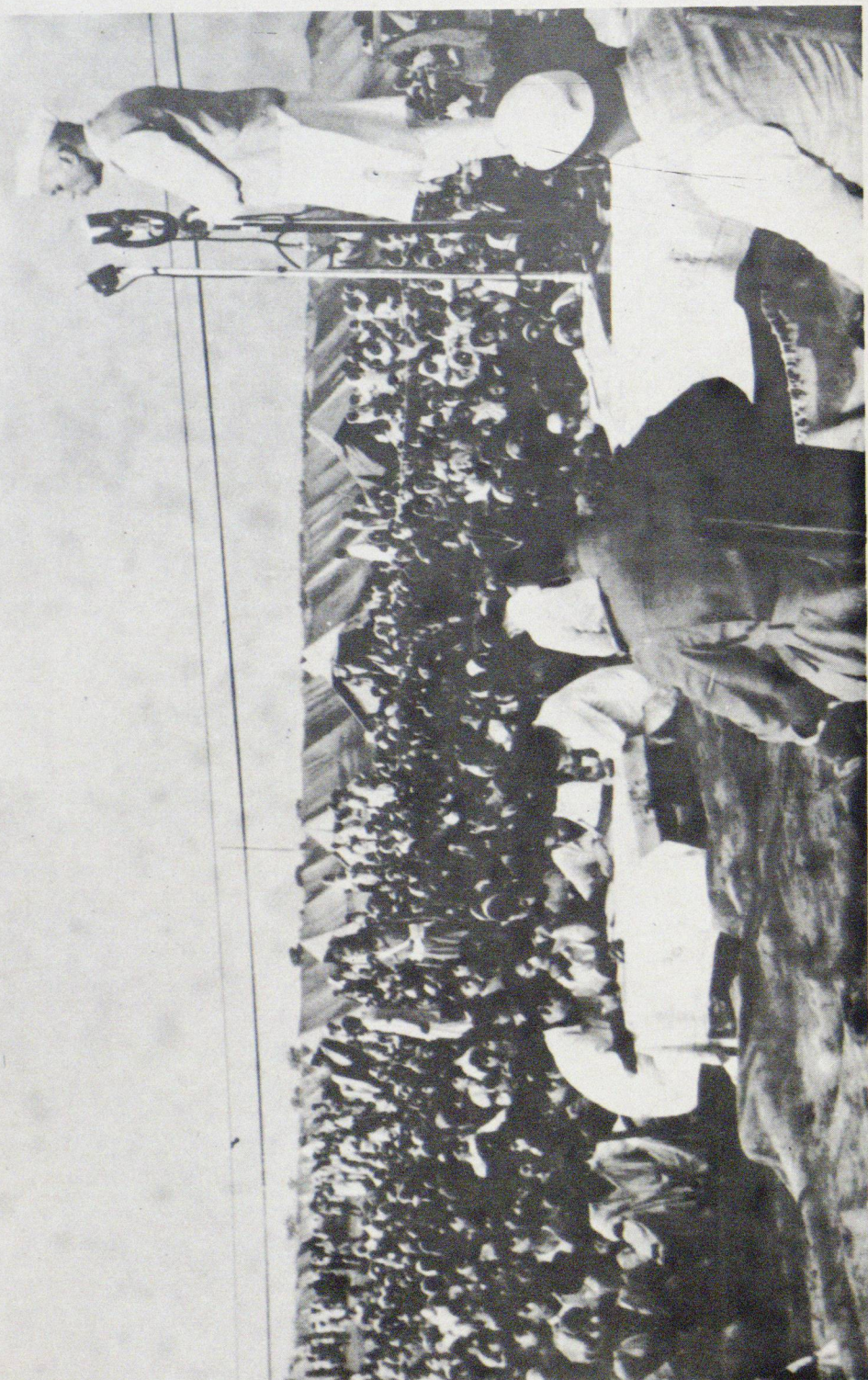
MAP OF JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE



AT HABRA REFUGEE CAMP, 13 JULY 1949



WITH MOHAMMAD HATTA, NEW DELHI, 7 AUGUST 1949



AT FARIDABAD CAMP, 11 AUGUST 1949

As for security, we are not for the moment thinking in terms of some third power invading India or Pakistan. We are definitely thinking of the danger of Pakistan invading or helping to invade our territories. The fact that they have done so and have persisted in this invasion would be quite enough to justify our fears. Continuous press propaganda to this effect, unchecked by the Pakistan Government, and statements by responsible Pakistan ministers, continually referred to aggressive war. Right at the beginning, when we referred this matter to the U.N. Security Council we drew attention to this moral aspect as well as to the security aspect. No clear decision has been given to us on these issues. Even while the U.N. Commission was functioning, further invasion continued. The State Department say that they cannot believe that responsible statesmen in either India or Pakistan hold the disastrous view that their two countries will resort to war to resolve their differences. Certainly we do not wish to resort to war for this purpose. But the fact is that Pakistan has actually been carrying on war admittedly in our territory and threatens to continue it. This has been done in spite of the functioning of the U.N. Commission. It is not quite clear how we can rely for the security of Kashmir on the United Nations in these circumstances.

Partly conscious of this fact the U.N. Commission laid down in their resolution⁴ that the Pakistan forces, regular and irregular, should leave Kashmir State territory. They further recognized the sovereignty of the Kashmir Government over the whole State. While these conversations were going on, Pakistan has not only increased its forces in Kashmir, but has trained and armed larger numbers of so-called 'Azad Kashmir' forces. These forces are a continuing threat to the security of Kashmir. No responsible statesman can view this prospect with equanimity or take any step which might leave Kashmir unguarded from these irregular armies of Pakistan or predatory bands encouraged by them.

The Ambassador's reference to the possibility of wholesale massacres in India and Pakistan seems to me completely unjustified. I do not think there is any such possibility. Is it suggested that because of this possibility, we should surrender to the threats of Pakistan and not only give up our legal and moral position but endanger the security of large numbers of people in Kashmir State who looked to us for protection? It is certain that if we did so, there would be far greater upheavals both in Kashmir and elsewhere than if some other development took place.

We appreciate what the State Department say about their neutrality in this matter and their attempt to hold the balance even between India and Pakistan. We should, however, like to know if in the view of the State Department, legal and moral considerations have no particular weight and an invasion of friendly territory should be accepted as an accomplished fact. Do they consider that India and Pakistan are

4. Resolution of 5 January 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p. 225.

equally guilty in this matter? If not then subsequent developments have to be judged accordingly. Apart from legal and moral issues, the practical aspect also has great importance. Acceptance of aggression at any time and more especially in the present circumstances, means encouraging it for the future and has very far-reaching consequences. In India no Government can stand if it failed in its primary duty to protect those who have looked up to it for protection and who have the legal and moral right to do so. It is then that upheavals might take place in India, which should be avoided.

13. Loy Henderson's Record of Interview with Nehru¹

1. At Nehru's request, I called on him at noon August 13....

2. Although Nehru greeted me affably his whole attitude changed when he began discussing Kashmir. ... He said he was tired of receiving moralistic advice from U.S. India did not need advice from U.S. or any other country as to its foreign or internal policies. His own record and that of Indian foreign relations was one of integrity and honesty, which did not warrant admonitions. He did not care to receive lectures from other countries. So far as Kashmir was concerned he would not give an inch. He would hold his ground even if Kashmir, India and the whole world would go to pieces. Perhaps he was being emotional but he was justified in feeling deeply about Kashmir. He would not be swayed by talks or persuasion. He was under too deep obligations to Kashmir. He would give State up, only in case Kashmir people should freely express their desire not to remain a part of India. The Kashmir issue affected underlying philosophy of India which was that of a secular progressive State, all citizens of which could participate in national life without discrimination because of race, colour or religion. This philosophy was opposed to that of Pakistan which was a theocratic State. Pakistan was manoeuvring with purpose that people of Kashmir should decide their future on basis of Pakistan philosophy rather than that of India. India was determined that any expression of will of people of Kashmir regarding their future should be based on political factors

1. Cabled by Henderson to Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State, New Delhi, 15 August 1949. *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1949, Volume VI (United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1977), pp. 1732-1733. Extracts.

not on religious hatreds. Plebiscite based on political considerations would be moral victory for India even if it should lose. One based on religious passions, no matter who won, would arouse hatreds which could injure structure of Indian State....

3.... In latter part of his talk, he used conversational tone of voice and turned on his well known charm. In finishing he said he hoped I would not mind if he had been perhaps "somewhat over-forceful" in his opening remarks. I replied that if his remarks reflected his state of mind it was better that he should have made them; that we were not likely to arrive at an understanding if we entirely concealed our emotions or failed to express frankly our views during conversations on important subjects. It might be just as well, however, if I should regard some of his remarks as made for my personal benefit, not for conveyance as official statement to my Government. He said he would leave that to my judgement. He would not like anything which he had said to injure our relations....

11

KASHMIR

II. Internal

1. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
June 24, 1949

My dear Shaikh Sahib,

I have just seen Dr Shukla,² the leader of the batch of young doctors and medical students, who have been working in Jammu and Kashmir. He has given me an account of his work and the difficulties and successes that he encountered. I think this kind of work is exceedingly useful and should be continued both from the medical and other points of view. On the last occasion, the U.P. Government gave them drugs and medicines worth about thirty-seven thousand rupees. Next time our health authorities here will supply them with these drugs and medicines.

Their chief difficulty appears to be transport. I am asking the Army authorities to help them in this, as well as in lodging, etc. Your Government will, of course, give them every assistance.

Dr Shukla told me rather strange stories. He said that people were at first afraid of coming to them and actually threw away their medicines for fear of being poisoned. Later they came in thousands. They also told him that Indian salt gave them skin diseases and that rice was being taken away from Kashmir to India, and hence the scarcity. Obviously these stories were spread by mischief-makers. I think people doing good work of this kind in remote valleys will have a most excellent effect on the morale of the population, apart from serving them in the field of health.

I am writing to Acharya Narendra Deva, Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, to thank him for this venture and asking him to continue it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. R.C. Shukla.

2. To the Kushak of the Rhesong Monastery¹

New Delhi
June 25, 1949

Dear Shri Kushak,²

I have long desired to visit Ladakh and the great Buddhist monasteries that are situated there. Unfortunately I have not been able to do so upto now. I hope,

1. File No. 2(422)/49-PMS.
2. Title for a head priest.

however, to visit Leh early next month, but my visit will be too short to allow me to go to the Rheshong Monastery,³ much as I would have liked to do so. I hope, however, to have the pleasure of meeting some representatives from the Rheshong Monastery during my brief stay in Ladakh.

I would have particularly liked to visit the Rheshong Monastery because it had to suffer a great deal of trouble from hostile raiders in the course of the past year. Fortunately the Government of India have driven back these raiders and protected Ladakh from hostile invasion. We shall continue to give Ladakh that protection so that the people of Ladakh and the great monasteries that flourish in that area should have security and peace.

A learned friend of mine, Dr Niranjana Prasad Chakravarti, who is Director-General of Archaeology in India, is being sent by me to Ladakh. He will go there some days before I go. I have specially asked him to pay a visit to the Rheshong Monastery in order to convey my greetings to you and to others there. He is a man of great erudition and has had considerable experience in reading our ancient sacred texts and manuscripts. I shall be grateful to you if you will kindly give him facilities to see the sacred manuscripts which your renowned monastery contains and help him in other ways also to profit by his stay in Ladakh.

I send you and the other Lamas of your monastery my greetings and good wishes, and remain,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Rheshong Monastery (Ri Dzong), which literally means a mountain fort, was founded approximately a hundred years ago by Lama Tshul-Tin-Nyuna and is known for its murals.

3. Closer Ties with Ladakh¹

I stand here today in this famous monastery in a Buddhist part of India where 2,500 years ago Buddhism flourished and spread to distant lands. It has been my long

1. Address to Buddhist Lamas at Hemis Monastery, Ladakh, 5 July 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 8 July 1949.

cherished desire that we should study your ancient manuscripts and other works with the help of your wise and learned men to our and to your advantage.

I have particularly come here with *Sher-e-Kashmir* Shaikh Abdullah to assure you that you need have no fear about your future. Our troops came to Ladakh, thousands of miles away from India, because we consider Ladakh an integral part of India. Any attack on Ladakh will be an attack on India and will be resisted with all our might.

In the world of today we need each other and we have to learn from each other. Those who are not alert, strong and progressive, become weak and lose their freedom. We wish to remain free. So, holding fast to our past wisdom, we must acquire fresh knowledge so that we may become strong and tread the right path.

We are bound to each other by political, cultural and religious ties and by many other affinities which no one can sunder. We have come to you from distant parts of India to convey to you a message of love and goodwill from your brethren in other parts of India.

4. The Development of Ladakh¹

Rapid changes are taking place in this world, for example, the vast difference in the means of communication with India that exists today compared to those in the past. In the past, it took three months to reach Delhi by the land route and three weeks to Srinagar. And now an aeroplane has brought me from Delhi to Srinagar within two and a half hours. One should try to understand these revolutionary changes that are taking place today and try to adjust oneself to them.

*Awami Raj Zindabad*² is your slogan today. The days of the rule by kings and foreigners has been replaced by the rule of the people's representatives for the benefit of the country and the people. India has changed considerably since the last one and a half years, and there has been a war in Kashmir also. Even though there is a ceasefire now, yet the enemy is at the doorstep, waiting for a chance to launch a fresh offensive. It is with the help of the people of Ladakh that the Indian Army has successfully thrown out the enemy, and without your cooperation

1. Address to a deputation of citizens and officials, Leh, 6 July 1949. From the *National Herald*, 9 July and 26 July 1949.
2. "Long Live Democracy."

Ladakh could not have been saved from being over-run. I am sure that if the enemy makes a fresh attempt to attack, stiff resistance will be put up against them. And for this the people have to be prepared.

The Indian Army had to overcome tremendous difficulties of terrain and trying winter conditions for coming to Ladakh to save her from utter destruction at the hands of the enemy, and they received full cooperation from the people here. I hope that peaceful conditions will return to Ladakh and supply convoys will start moving. I warn you, however, that the enemy is still not very far off and we must be ready and vigilant to drive him back should he come nearer. Ladakh is poor and undeveloped because it was far-off but today it is no longer far away and was therefore able to save herself from the raiders.

Ladakh though threatened, must think of improving its living conditions. You have good land, but there is lack of water; you can develop small irrigation channels from the river and improve cultivation. I realize, of course, that there are difficulties created by war conditions; yet much can be achieved if you really make an effort. You cannot live on trade alone, and unless the local productive activities are intensified, poverty and want will continue. It is not advisable to start big industries in such a place, but cottage industries with small machinery can be of help.

You have presented us many demands and it is our duty to set these matters right. This is an age of upheavals and gigantic changes. *Sher-e-Kashmir* Shaikh Abdullah will, I have no doubt, do whatever lies in his power to improve your lot. Before him and before us are the same principles for which we struggled, namely secular democracy, establishment of popular will, justice and equity.

In Ladakh you are backward and unless you learn and train yourselves you cannot run the affairs of your region. The Kashmir Government will no doubt help you in getting trained in various vocations and branches of administration. As you go on learning and training yourselves you will get increased opportunities in the future. Proper education therefore has to be introduced. Those who are already trained should certainly get a full share in the opportunities to serve the country.

It is our general policy to encourage the local people to take more and more responsibility in the governance of their areas and whatever arrangements exist today here are only war-time arrangements. Although a lot of things have to be done, one has to work according to priorities when the enemy is at the gate. It has been our policy, and Shaikh Saheb has been working for it, that there should be no discrimination between any Indian citizen on account of his religion, community or creed. Shaikh Saheb considers every Kashmiri on the same footing and, therefore, feels everyone should have equal opportunities in life. He is working for it and according to circumstances is trying to develop this theory. But you will realize that this cannot be done when we are in the battlefield. When the proper time comes your representatives will sit with other representatives of the State and decide on their own future administration.

I would like to tell you also about the Government's food policy. There is shortage of rice and our first duty is to see that no citizen dies of hunger. There are difficulties involved in fixing prices and in checking black marketing. But this has to be done and we have to introduce controls. There has been food shortage, but foodgrains are being rushed to areas where there is a scarcity. I appeal to the zamindars to extend a helping hand in the distribution because food has to be well distributed and should be made available at controlled rates to every member of the public.

5. Ladakh in India¹

You have addressed me as the Prime Minister, as a Kashmiri and also as an Indian. I have come with a message of goodwill and greetings from your co-citizens of India to you—the sentinels of the frontier. It was my dream to visit Ladakh and once I actually came half-way and had to return due to an urgent call. Since then, for the last thirty years I had been engrossed in the struggle for the independence of India. When India became independent and was taking her rightful place among the leading countries of the world a storm broke out on its frontiers.

You have mentioned in your address the heroic acts of the Indian Army and how they drove out the enemy through the difficult mountain terrains. The Indian Army will remain in Ladakh only as long as danger exists. It will be here only till you want them and the Jammu and Kashmir State wants them. The Indian Army is not an army of occupation, as it was called to Kashmir at the request of the Kashmiris to help them fight the raiders who were committing heinous crimes on the innocent population. The raiders had reached Ladakh when the Indian Army was called in. Wherever an Indian goes, we want him to be a messenger of freedom and independence and not an exploiter or a tyrant. Similarly, wherever our army goes, we want them to be torch-bearers of the message of freedom and goodwill.

A year and a half ago just after raiders had attacked Kashmir, at a public meeting in Srinagar, in the presence of the *Sher-e-Kashmir* and a huge audience, I had made a solemn promise to Kashmir that it would never be let down. Therefore, now it will be for the people of Kashmir to decide their fate and whatever you wish

1. Reply to the address of welcome by the citizens, Leh, 7 July 1949. From the *National Herald*, 9 July and 26 July 1949.

would be carried out. Remember that whatever promises we gave to Kashmir we will abide by it. We will never allow the fate of Kashmir to be decided by force. And I tell you this as the Prime Minister of India.

I was deeply hurt to see how Kashmir has suffered. If the raiders had been successful, this beautiful place would have been completely ruined. As an Indian and as a Kashmiri, it is intolerable for me to permit the enemy to cause such havoc here. When there was danger, you had shown courage and the enemy has been driven back, but the enemy is not very far off and we must be ready and vigilant to drive him back, should he come nearer.

You are suffering from poverty and want. Only those who come here can see and realize your difficulties. Hospitals, schools, cottage industries, small irrigation projects, development of agriculture—all these are your urgent needs. Provision has to be made for betterment of your condition and also improved methods of irrigation and the development of your industries and handicrafts.

Kashmir and the world are going through a revolution. Terrible upheavals are taking place. We aim at *Awami Raj*—the Government of the people, by the people and for the people—that is what we aim at for the whole of India. We do not like the idea of a few people ruling the country and giving the benefit of it to a few at the cost of the people. The meaning of people's government is that in Kashmir the Government will be of the Kashmiris and in Ladakh the administration will be carried on in consultation with the Ladakhis. I am sure you will be able to influence not only the Ladakh administration, but gradually will have a right of say in the Jammu and Kashmir State politics also.

In India all people, of whatever religion, have opportunities for full development and advancement open to them. Under the leadership of *Sher-e-Kashmir*, the National Conference has always stood for equality of opportunity, freedom and justice. Buddhism is the predominant religion here and so both Buddhist religion and learning must be encouraged and helped. You know that Buddhism came from India. Be rest assured that Buddhism and Buddhist institutions here will receive every possible opportunity for development.

I appeal to the elderly exponents of the Buddhist religion to remove evils that have crept into Buddhist institutions here, and help in raising the moral and material standards of the people here.

We have great things to do in Ladakh. These things cannot be done by the Government alone without the united help of the people. Wherever you live in Ladakh, give your full cooperation in the solution of these problems. Ladakh is no longer far away, but whether we are near to each other or far away we are all children of India and we shall face all our problems together, and through mutual help and confidence we will be victorious.

6. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
July 16, 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

I have not heard from you about your coming here for the Premiers' Conference. The Conference begins on the 21st. I hope you will be able to come and will stay with me. I am rather apprehensive about one matter and that is that no rice is provided in our house. We could no doubt supplement your food occasionally.

I should like to draw your special attention to one matter. Sometimes attacks are made in Kashmir in the press or otherwise on England and America and it is stated that they have encouraged the invasion of Kashmir by the raiders and Pakistanis. I understand this was done rather pointedly at a meeting of the Cultural Congress held on the 3rd and 4th July.² This kind of thing is likely to do us a great deal of harm.³ It does not much matter what the facts are, but in the circumstances this propaganda is definitely harmful and affects our foreign relations as well as, more particularly, the Kashmir question in its international set up. I do not personally think that the British Government has anything to do with this though, no doubt, the British officials in Pakistan have intrigued against us a great deal. But however that may be none of us can make statements of this type publicly or encourage them without injury to our cause. This type of propaganda is typical of the Communist approach nowadays; sometimes in some measure it has truth in it. But very largely it is just propaganda intended to worsen our relations with other countries.

I am told that the food situation in some of the rural areas is still rather bad⁴ and that the cooperative stores are not working very satisfactorily. This, as you know, is of great importance and I hope that Bakshi will pull people up. There is apparently some lack of coordination between the Government officers and the Tehsil Councils of the National Conference.

I am passing on to you some other information that has come my way, the truth of which I cannot of course guarantee. This is that on the 2nd July at a secret

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The Conference was organized by the National Cultural Congress, formed by the merger of the Kashmir Progressive Artists and Writers Association and the Theatre Association, for the revival of Kashmiri culture.
3. In his reply to Nehru on 26 July 1949 Abdullah clarified that "vocal expression" against the British was a "hangover from the days of the last year's crisis when the people here had the overwhelming impression that their sufferings were caused by the British Government." He added that he was aware of the extreme stand which the Congress would take and had therefore "gone there to sober them."
4. On 12 July 1949, the Jammu and Kashmir Government stated that the cause of food scarcity was the low allotment of foodgrains by the Centre and floods in Jammu.

meeting of some students held at the house of one Mrs Jalaluddin. Subedar Amanullah and Jamadar Fazal of the J & K Militia also took part in this meeting where it was decided to send a batch of students after their final examinations to the border areas in order to get in touch with the people in the 'Azad Kashmir' territories.

I am also told that one of the ardent Communist workers, Pir Ghayasuddin is holding study circles to propagate his doctrine. You or Bakshi will, no doubt, be able to find out what truth there is in these reports and take necessary action.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
August 3, 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

... I see from the newspapers and from other information that the Praja Parishad people are giving a lot of trouble in Jammu.² I am very sorry they are misbehaving so much and that some people are foolish enough to be misled by them. I hope this agitation will end soon.

As you know, Samper³ and Colban⁴ have come here. They have had talks with Bajpai. I have not personally met them. Their proposal is that now that the ceasefire matter has been settled satisfactorily, we should proceed with truce talks on a ministerial level. That is to say that we should discuss the matter directly with ministers of the Pakistan Government.

I am asking Bajpai to send you a copy of a note which embodies these conversations and our reply. This note has been sent to Samper.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.
2. On 23 June 1949, the Jammu Praja Parishad launched a satyagraha demanding "provincial autonomy within the State" for Jammu, handing over of administration of the State to the States Ministry at the Centre and release of political prisoners. The Jammu and Kashmir Government on 1 August disclosed that they had arrested 200 persons including 14 women during the course of the satyagraha.
3. Hernando Samper, alternate member of the U.N.C.I.P. from Columbia, acted as Chairman of the U.N.C.I.P. from 24 June to 15 August 1949.
4. Eric Colban was the representative of the U.N. Secretary-General on the U.N.C.I.P.

You will see from this note that we have expressed our general agreement with this proposal, but we have pointed out that there is no point in having these talks unless we know exactly what the position is. For the present, we do not even know what Pakistan's reply was to the truce proposals.⁵ It is for the Commission to supply us with all this information and prepare the agenda. We can then give a more definite reply as to what steps should be taken.

Secondly, we have pointed out that in this matter more especially, the Kashmir Government has to be kept in constant touch.

Thirdly, we have drawn attention to a matter which has no particular reference to the truce, but which is nonetheless important, that is the removal of timber by Pakistan from Kashmir territory.

Sardar Patel's health is not at all satisfactory and doctors suggest that he should go to Bombay for a full examination, and possibly for treatment. He may have to go within three or four days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Pakistan, while rejecting the Commission's truce terms of 28 April 1949, stated that it could not agree to the Commission's proposal to station observers in north Kashmir and hand over the defence to Indian forces as it was not in accordance with U.N.C.I.P. resolution of 13 August 1948; stressed that it had already withdrawn its tribesmen and forces from Kashmir and would withdraw its other forces only to synchronize with the withdrawal of Indian forces from the State, and said that it would reorganize 'Azad Kashmir' forces so as to "facilitate the implementation" of the Commission's resolution of 5 January 1949 which would start only after the truce agreement was implemented according to the resolution of 13 August 1948.

8. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
August 3, 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

I dictated a letter today addressed to you and intended sending it through Beg.² But I have just learnt that Beg is going to Jammu and will not see you at all for a number of days. Therefore, that letter as well as this letter will go with

1. J.N. Collection.

2. M.M.A. Beg.

V.P. Menon who is leaving tomorrow morning. He will also take the memorandum which Bajpai has prepared of his conversations with Samper and Colban.

I understand that the chief object of V.P. Menon's visit to Srinagar is to discuss with you questions relating to (a) the State Department property and (b) the State Department budget.

These matters have been repeatedly discussed between you and V.P. Menon and sometimes Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar has also, I believe, been consulted. I have had little to do with these discussions and do not know much about the details.

But you will remember that when I was in Srinagar last, I said something about this subject to you. I was very anxious that these matters should be settled speedily and amicably. The Yuvaraj³ will, of course, take any advice we give him but the States Ministry and the Government of India have, in the course of various talks, given certain assurances and made certain commitments which naturally they have to honour. The Government of India do not want to be charged with breach of faith by the Maharaja or anyone else.

The question appears to me to be a relatively minor one and, in the present context, of no real importance at all. The property cannot run away anywhere. It remains in Kashmir. Whether the property is allotted to the State Department or not, it is in the nature of public property. It is far better to treat it as some kind of public property under the trusteeship of the Ruler than to try to have a fine division of property vesting in the State Department and property transferred to the State. The way I would proceed generally makes it clear that they are of public nature and that the Ruler or the Yuvaraj by virtue of their position are in charge of them. It is far better to do so than to insist upon depriving the State Department, even formally, of the property and thus creating needless friction. Apart from this, it is right and proper that a person in the position of the Ruler should have a certain dignity attached to his position. All these questions are rather temporary in view of the big changes that are bound to come in the future. It is, therefore, not worthwhile, or even right, to treat them as anything but minor questions. It is far more important to be generous in regard to the minor matters and to win the goodwill of other people than to save a little at the expense of a great deal that is more important.

I hope, therefore, that you will appreciate what I have said above and treat these matters with some generosity. That generosity is not a generosity to an individual at the expense of the State, because the State happens to include that individual who is a part of the State. That will also be in keeping with such assurances as we have given, and we would not be put in a false position.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Karan Singh was appointed regent of Jammu and Kashmir State on 20 June 1949.

9. To Raghu Vira¹

New Delhi
August 4, 1949

Dear Dr Raghu Vira,

Your letter of the 4th August. I entirely agree with you that there should be internal peace in Jammu and Kashmir State. It is because of this that it amazed me that some people should be carrying on the so-called satyagraha agitation in Jammu. You say that you are not impressed by what Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad said the other day at our Executive Committee meeting. All our sources of information, and we have a large number, indicate that the greatest enemies of peace in Jammu and Kashmir State and of the union of Kashmir with India are these people of the Praja Parishad of Jammu who are carrying on this agitation. One would almost think that they were doing it to please the Pakistan Government. The Pakistan press is making a lot out of it.²

I cannot, of course, speak about any particular incident with knowledge, but the whole movement in Jammu is so utterly misconceived that it passes my comprehension how any intelligent person could associate himself with it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. For example, the *Pakistan Times* had been reporting that the Praja Parishad movement was opposed to "Abdullah's slogan of nationalism", that "Dogras were waiting for an opportunity to display once again the strength of their sword" and that the movement was inspired by Maharani Tara Devi to enable her brother "to gain ascendancy in Kashmir politics" with the support of sympathizers in East Punjab and Delhi.

10. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
August 5, 1949

My dear Sachar,

An exceedingly irresponsible satyagraha is being carried on in Jammu by the Jammu Praja Parishad against the Kashmir Government. I am astonished at

1. J.N. Collection.

the folly of this movement which plays into the hands of Pakistan completely. I am writing to you because my information is that some people in East Punjab are helping this movement. Pamphlets are printed in Jalandhar and sometimes Pathankot is used as a base. I hope your Government will see to it that no encouragement at all is given to these people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
August 14, 1949

My dear Bakshi,

I have today given a letter² to a young girl from Jammu addressed to you. I enclose a copy of this letter.

I want to add something here which I did not wish to say in that letter. This Jammu Praja Parishad business has been a bad show and I have little doubt that it has been encouraged from Delhi and from East Punjab. We have taken some steps in Delhi and we are also in touch with the East Punjab Government over this matter. You know how best to deal with this situation in Jammu itself. There is always one danger in this kind of thing. It is easy enough to face this kind of trouble by police means and suppress it. But there is always a risk of a lot of bad blood spreading and even people who are not associated with the satyagraha, etc. to feel some sympathy, when the police come into the picture. This is especially so, when women are involved. We are an emotional people and when women get pushed about by the police, most people's emotions are aroused. We have had experience of this in Calcutta and the West Bengal Government suffered a great deal in prestige because of conflicts between the police and women, in spite of the fact that the women were largely to blame. Therefore, I think that the matter should be handled not merely by police methods, which of course are essential to some extent, but also by a statesmanlike approach and a definite attempt to make the average man feel that he has been accorded fair play. I hope that now the satyagraha, etc. is fading away, your Government will adopt a generous policy in regard to those who have been arrested and try to make people feel that there

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See the next item.

is no bitterness and no desire for punishment and reprisals. Any such generous policy always pays in the long run and even in the short run. It produces more normal conditions and the government's strength grows thereby.

I hope to see you here fairly soon. The meeting of the Pakistan delegation takes place in Delhi on Monday, August 22. I do not think this meeting will lead to anything. But we could not very well refuse it. Your presence is very necessary then.

I am sending copies of this letter as well as my other letter to you to Shaikh Saheb.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
August 14, 1949

My dear Bakshi,

I am giving this note to a young woman who came to see me this morning. Her name is Mrs S. Sushama and she comes from Vijayagarh, Jammu. She has been here with some others for some days, apparently on behalf of the Jammu Praja Parishad. She has met many of our legislators and told them stories of the ill-treatment of women by the police in Jammu. She saw Shaikh Saheb when he was here.

As you know, I have no sympathy at all with this Praja Parishad business and I think that their activities have been very mischievous in Jammu, Delhi and elsewhere. We cannot possibly tolerate this kind of thing. I made this quite clear to this young woman and tried to point out to her the error of her ways and those of her colleagues.

I understand that the satyagraha agitation is more or less over. I am glad of that. I am writing to you separately about other matters. Meanwhile I am giving this note to this young woman, because she seems to be afraid of being arrested on her return to Jammu. It is quite possible that you may have sufficient cause to arrest her for her activities. I do not know about all this. But I think it would be undesirable to arrest any woman as far as possible and more particularly a person who has come to Delhi and seen some of us here.

Therefore I think that in the circumstances, it is better and wiser to allow matters to tone down and to try to produce a feeling of normality in the people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

I. India and the Commonwealth

I. India and the Commonwealth¹

This is a brief note to indicate the position of India in regard to the Commonwealth.

On the 15th August 1947 India became an independent country and a free dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The position then was that India was completely free in regard to her internal and external policy and the United Kingdom could not interfere in any of these policies. Certain forms however continued to be observed. For instance, the Head of the State was King George VI, and ambassadors, etc. were appointed in his name. So also the Governor-General, who was supposed to represent the King. In effect, however, all these appointments were made by the Cabinet in India and the King came in only formally into the picture as a constitutional monarch according to the recommendations of his Ministry in India. King George was in effect King of India and it was as such that he functioned as the Head of the Indian State. He did not function in India as the King of England. Certain other forms were also observed to begin with, such as the issue of some honours and medals in the name of the King. The question of honours did not arise, as we had put an end to titles, etc. But certain medals etc. continue to be issued.

Thus India's position was that of an independent country with a King at the head, who was a constitutional monarch following the advice of his Ministry in India. During these past two years there has been no occasion when the King or the U.K. Government interfered in any way with the policies or the decisions of the Government of India.

This position continues still. But it is well known that the new Constitution that we are drafting is that of a Republic. In all likelihood this Constitution will be passed in October next and will be given effect to from January 26th, 1950. When the Republic comes into existence, the King fades away from the picture. He is not mentioned anywhere in the Indian Constitution, which is being drafted. Constitutionally, therefore, he has no place at all in India and even the formalities which had thus far been observed will cease. There will be a President of the Indian Republic who will be the Head of the State. India will in effect be as completely independent both in form and in functioning as any other country.

The discussions in London at the Commonwealth Conference in April last² were based on a recognition of the fact that India was soon going to be a Republic.

1. Note given to Mohammed Hatta, Prime Minister of Indonesia, 7 August 1949. File No. 32(52)1/-48-PMS.
2. Held from 21 to 28 April 1949.

We could not therefore recognize the King even formally as the Head of the Indian State.³ Nevertheless, for a variety of reasons, we were anxious to maintain some kind of an association with the Commonwealth, provided this did not interfere with our policies in any way and we were left entirely free to pursue our domestic and foreign policy.

The Dominion Prime Ministers assembled in London in April accepted this position. That is to say that India as a completely independent Republic should continue as a member of the Commonwealth (whose name was changed from the British Commonwealth of Nations to the Commonwealth of Nations). On our part we recognized that the King was a symbol of the free association of Commonwealth countries and, as such, head of the Commonwealth. It was made clear, however, that the King as such was a head merely with a certain status and had no functions. There is no precedent or parallel for this kind of thing and it is therefore difficult to define it. But it is clear enough what all this means.

It means that India will function as an independent Republic. At the same time she has expressed her willingness to be on friendly terms with the other countries of the Commonwealth and to have mutual consultations from time to time. There is no binding treaty or anything else that might be called binding. There is only a kind of gentleman's agreement that we should exchange information and keep in touch with each other and sometimes consult each other.

This is a very loose structure, indeed it might be said that it is too loose to be a structure at all. Each country of the Commonwealth can do just what it likes. Indeed at the present moment and for some years past, there has been a serious dispute between India and Pakistan on the one side and the South African Union Government on the other. Yet all of them are members of the Commonwealth. In the same way, there has been continuing conflict between India and Pakistan. There has in fact been a war in Kashmir between these two countries although in theory their relations continue to be friendly.

Whether such a loose Commonwealth can continue or not, the future will demonstrate. But the mere attempt to continue it helps in the preservation of peace in the world and in maintaining some kind of a link (without any commitments) between a number of countries. This link is helpful in many ways to the individual countries. It is helpful also in the larger world context, in checking the disruptive tendencies. If at any time there is a marked conflict between Indian policy and the U.K. policy, each country will certainly go its own way. That conflict may lead to the Commonwealth structure being shaken up or even cracking.

The main thing to understand is that there is no legal bond left between India and the U.K. and other countries of the Commonwealth after the Indian Republic comes into existence. The bond that remains is one of mutual assurance and

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol.11, pp. 300-304.

understanding, and it has been agreed that the nationals and trade of members of the Commonwealth countries will not be treated by the respective Governments as foreign, though each Commonwealth country will determine the terms of its citizenship and the extent to which it will accord to other Commonwealth countries economic privileges which are not given to other countries which are foreign. England and India, though foreign countries in most ways, are not to be considered as completely foreign, in the sense that some other countries are foreign. No privileges result from this except such as any two countries in the Commonwealth might mutually agree to. This arrangement has an advantage over a treaty of alliance which binds two countries in some ways. There is nothing binding between India and England and at any moment the vague link that subsists may be broken. But as the countries concerned think that it is to their advantage to maintain that nebulous link, it continues.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

II. Indonesia

1. India and Indonesia¹

During recent months the situation in Indonesia has been a very complex one and it has not been easy to follow from India the changes that took place there from day to day. We have had long messages almost daily from our representative in Batavia and he has tried to keep us up to date with information. We have also had the advantage of meeting Dr Maramis² and Dr Soedarsono from time to time and discussing the situation with them. We have also been in constant touch on this issue with the American Ambassador in Delhi and the United Kingdom High Commissioner.³ At Lake Success our representative has kept in touch with various parties concerned. In London our High Commissioner has also been in frequent touch with the Foreign Office in regard to Indonesia.

2. In spite of these various sources of information and frequent exchange of ideas, it has been difficult for us to judge the exact situation in Indonesia. We can judge fairly well that situation in its proper Asian or world aspects. We can consider it from the diplomatic point of view, as well as in its relation to the United Nations. We can keep in touch somewhat with American and British reactions to it and try to bring such pressure as we can on the foreign offices of these countries. But one factor cannot be judged by us and this is of vital importance. This factor is the internal situation in Indonesia, the view of the leaders of the Republic, the relative strength of the forces for unity and the forces for disruption, the intrigues of the Dutch in Indonesia, and generally the strength of the national movement as well as of the military and popular forces behind it.⁴ In the ultimate analysis it is this factor that must affect a final decision.

3. It is obvious that the only persons who can judge all this fully and competently are the leaders of the Indonesian Republic and it would be improper for us to interfere in any way with their judgement. India's position, therefore, has been to work to its utmost capacity in influencing foreign opinion in the U.N., in the U.S.A. and the U.K., as well as in Asian and other countries that are interested

1. Note, 28 June 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. A.S. Maramis, was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the emergency Government of the Indonesian Republic.

3. Archibald Nye.

4. The reference is to inter-party conflict between the parties who had been represented in the Republican Government since 1945. These included an all-inclusive Islamic organization or Masjumi, the Indonesian National Party or PNI, the Catholic Party, the Teachers' Union, the Indonesian Socialist Party, and the Indonesian Communist Party or PKI. Since 1945 there had been three coalition governments whose members had different viewpoints and could not agree on the course of action against the Dutch.

in the question of Indonesia. We have tried to induce these countries to support the cause of the Indonesian Republic. What actual step should be taken at any time, we have felt, must be decided by the leaders of the Republic. We may occasionally venture to offer some advice, but that advice is always subject to the judgement of those leaders of the Republic, who are in the best position to judge and decide.

4. We have viewed the question of Indonesia from several aspects. There has grown up, more especially during the past few years, a close bond between India and Indonesia and a sense of intimacy has arisen between the two countries. We are very much concerned with the future of the Indonesian Republic. Apart from this bond, we are convinced that the existence of the Dutch power in Indonesia is dangerous from many points of view and will be a source of perpetual trouble and conflict in South East Asia. The only way to have stability in Indonesia, and thereby help stability in South East Asia, is for the Indonesian Republic to be firmly established and to function in a completely independent manner. Recent developments in East and South East Asia have confirmed this view.

5. While the western imperialist powers must be eliminated from any position of control in South East Asia, the spread of communism appears to us also to come in the way of freedom. Communism, as an economic doctrine, has much to commend it and attracts many people. But the application of communism to any country depends greatly upon the objective conditions existing in that country. In most of the countries of South East Asia, as well as India, the Communist Party has opposed itself to the national movement and in fact has functioned as something anti-national. The objective is not even the constructive objective of achieving socialism or communism, but rather of weakening the political and economic structure of the country in the hope that finally this may lead to some development in their interest. In effect the Communist Parties of these countries do not think at all in terms of the countries concerned, or of the conditions prevailing there or of their freedom, or of the betterment of the people, but rather of a wider world policy in which the interests of the Soviet Union are paramount. The fear of world war leads them to think that it will be to the interest of the Soviet Union to have a weak, disjointed and chaotic South East Asia in the event of a world crisis. That, I think, is a foolish objective from any reasonable point of view and certainly it means sacrificing the people of South East Asia for some other world objective. I am convinced that any world objective will suffer because of this.

6. I think it is of paramount importance to prevent, if possible, another world war. If this is not to be prevented, it should at least be delayed for a number of years, so that the countries of Asia may stabilize and consolidate themselves politically and economically and thus be able to face any crisis that might arise. Any policy of weakening the countries of South and South East Asia is bad from the point of view of world peace and, of course, terrible from the point of view of the peoples who inhabit there.

7. Therefore, the policy of the Communist Parties of South and South East Asia is completely wrong and harmful. For the moment I am not considering the developments in China. I think that our general attitude to the new China should be of friendly expectation and waiting to see what happens. The emergence of a Communist China is a fact of world significance. That fact has to be recognized. It may be that this emergence may have the most powerful effect not only on world affairs but even in regard to the future of communism itself. The Chinese Communist leaders are able, experienced and self-reliant men who, for all their friendly sympathy for the Soviet Union, do not rely upon Russia and can stand on their own feet. A new problem thus arises which thus far has not arisen in regard to the small satellite States of Russia. The Chinese Communists appear to be realists and take into consideration the conditions as they exist in China. What they might hope to do in South East Asia, I do not know. Our attitude to them generally must, therefore, not be hostile and we should await developments.

8. It is clear to me that the Dutch cannot possibly continue to hold any kind of authority in Indonesia. They will have to go. But in the process of going, they may well do a great deal of injury to the country and encourage disruption and other factors. The sooner, therefore, they go, the better.

9. The recurrence of military operations in Indonesia will necessarily result in a great deal of misery and destruction. Unless events compel this, it should be avoided. But the fact remains that in the existing situation it is essential to have as strong a military force as possible, not only to check the Dutch but also to make the United Nations realize that the Indonesians will not submit and will even fight to the bitter end, if necessary.

10. The Indonesian question, having been referred to the Security Council, cannot be taken out of it and I do not think it is desirable to do so. It is possible for the Republic to take up the strongest line it can before the Security Council or the U.N. Commission. There will always be people in the United Nations to support that line. We have found often that strong pressure is brought to bear upon the Indonesian leaders to submit to some compromise with the Dutch by giving up something they value. It is for those leaders to determine what they consider vital and what they feel can be given up. Generally speaking, if I may say so, nothing vital should be given up and it should be made perfectly clear to the Commission as well as to the representatives of the U.S.A., the U.K. and other powers that the Republic will hold fast to its anchor, whatever happens. Any hint at a threat from any foreign power must be resented and opposed. At the same time it is always desirable to deal with these countries in as friendly a way as possible. But friendliness need not become a lack of firmness.

11. In October last, I was in London and repeated messages about Dutch preparations in Indonesia were reaching us. I had many talks with Mr Bevin, the U.K. Foreign Secretary, as well as some of the Prime Ministers of the British

Dominions present there. Later in Paris I discussed this matter with Mr Marshall⁵ and other U.S.A. representatives as well as with the representatives of several other countries. I took up a strong line and pointed out to them that this was not a mere question of Indonesia but a matter which affected the whole of Asia. If the Dutch again took aggressive action in Indonesia, everyone would think that they had done so with the passive, if not active, consent of the U.S.A. and the U.K. This would mean that the countries of Asia would become more and more unfriendly and critical of the U.S.A. and the U.K. I took up this argument not only because it was true, but because I think this would have a far greater effect than any pious appeal about help to Indonesia. It did have a great effect, and I know that both the U.S.A. and the U.K. soon after that brought a great deal of pressure to bear upon the Dutch Government. They felt suddenly that while the Dutch Government was useful to them in Europe for the Western Union or the Atlantic Pact, that Government's activities were endangering their whole position in Asia. It was a difficult choice for the U.S.A. and the U.K., but progressively (not completely) they came to realize that the friendship of South East Asia was probably more important in the long run and in case of any great crisis, than the support of the Netherlands in Europe or elsewhere.

12. During all the months that have passed since October, the Government of India have brought the greatest possible pressure on these countries in regard to Indonesia. Two months ago in London I again had a long talk with Mr Bevin and I repeated my old argument with effect.

13. I think that India has been of some service to the Indonesian Republic during these past critical months. That service, of course, it will continue to render, not only because of our close relationship with Indonesia but also because it is in consonance with our basic policy. In doing so it obviously cannot go beyond what the Indonesian leaders themselves say. We have to be guided by them in that matter.

14. Occasionally demands have reached us for some kind of military assistance to the Republic, either in the shape of arms and ammunition or even more active help. We have been unable to do anything in this respect and I should like to make the position quite clear. As a matter of fact India has practically exhausted any surplus military stores that it had, in the operations in Kashmir and elsewhere. We have tried our best to get military equipment from abroad and have sent for this purpose missions to Europe and America. These missions have not met with marked success. We have still to face a very critical situation in Kashmir. For our part we are determined not to start hostilities there. But the attitude of Pakistan appears to be different and aggressive. There are continuous troop movements there and concentration of forces, which can only mean preparations for an attack on our

5. George C. Marshall, the U.S. Secretary of State.

forces. If this attack takes place, we will resist it and hostilities may spread. As I have said, we wish to avoid this, because we think war must in any event be avoided. But we cannot avoid it if the other party wants it and we have to be prepared for all contingencies.

15. Apart from this very practical reason, there is another one of equal importance. Even if we wanted to send military help to Indonesia, we cannot do so without running the Dutch blockade. Obviously the Dutch will not permit it and in fact we cannot reach the Indonesians. Thus an attempt to do so might well lead to war with the Netherlands which would be of no help at all to Indonesia and would be bad from both the Indian and the world points of view. This would also be a defiance of the United Nations which is considering the question of Indonesia. It would mean angering a large number of nations and setting them up against the Indonesian Republic. Therefore it is not feasible for us to send military help to the Republic.

16. There has been some talk of an Asian bloc being formed. In theory this sounds good and in practice it certainly would be a good thing for Asian countries to cooperate together. In a small way we have attempted to bring that about by the Conference on Indonesia which was held in New Delhi in January last.⁶ But to talk about blocs being formed indicates complete political immaturity. In Asia there is hardly a country, apart from India, which has any present strength behind it. Many of these countries are facing a very difficult internal situation. In fact such a bloc would have little cohesive force and less strength. It would weaken India instead of strengthening it in any step that it might wish to take. Pakistan thinks much more as Western Asia than South East Asia. Afghanistan is at present in a state of great tension as against Pakistan. The Arab countries have shown their utter weakness in their conflict with Israel and are divided amongst themselves. Even in the United Nations, Asian countries do not wholly support each other on vital issues.

17. Therefore, while we should try to bring about as much friendly cooperation as possible between Asian countries, we have to proceed rather slowly and not get entangled in any kind of alliance which might embarrass us more than help.

18. It seems to me important that there should be the closest understanding and contact not only between the Government of India and the Indonesian Republican Government, but also between their respective leaders. We would welcome greatly the visit of Indonesian leaders to India from time to time for purposes of consultation. I would also welcome personal messages from any of them which can always be sent under sealed covers through our bag. Our relations are more intimate than merely diplomatic relations and there is no reason why we should not take advantage of this fact. A personal message sent in this way may

6. From 20 to 23 January 1949.

help us to understand the situation more than formal messages sent through our representatives.

19. We in India are facing difficult economic problems and we are not likely to be out of the wood for sometime to come. But whatever difficulties we may have at home, the cause of Indonesian freedom is both dear to us and important for us and we shall continue to strive our utmost in its behalf.

2. To S.C. Alagappan¹

New Delhi

June 30, 1949

My dear Alagappan,

I have given Mani² personal letters addressed to President Soekarno, Dr Hatta and Dr Shahrir. These letters should be delivered by Mani himself if possible.

You have been sending us long reports almost daily of developments in Indonesia. We have welcomed these reports. I have felt, however, that it might have been better if you sent somewhat more concise reports of the situation. Long reports of conversations are apt to confuse and the important aspects of the question may get hidden.

It seems that there are differences of opinion among the Indonesian leaders. This must place you in an embarrassing position and you will have to be very careful as to how you deal with it. As I told you, when you went, the whole object in sending you to Batavia was to maintain contacts with the Republican Government specially and to help them in every possible way. Our relations with the Indonesian Republic are close and friendly. They are closer than merely diplomatic relations. Often enough therefore we deal with their leaders on a plane of personal friendship which we would not do if we spoke to them in diplomatic language only. In fact, six months ago I was to have met President Soekarno, but his visit to India could not take place because of Dutch action.³ I still hope that I shall have the chance to meet him as well as Hatta and Shahrir in the near future in India.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. P.R.S. Mani (b. 1915); war correspondent in South East Asia, 1944-46; joined Indian Foreign Service, 1949; Press Attache, Jakarta, 1949-50; Commissioner in Hong Kong, 1953-54; Joint and Additional Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1967-69; Ambassador to Sweden, 1970-73.

3. Soekarno and Shahrir were invited to New Delhi in December 1948 but were arrested in a police action on 19 December 1948.

Some phrases in your recent telegram, chiefly referring to Dr Shahrir, have rather disturbed me. I know that there are differences of opinion among the Indonesian leaders. That makes it specially incumbent on you, as our representative, to try to remain aloof from any internal conflicts of opinion or action. An ambassador's business is not to offer any advice, unless he is specially asked to do so. He is to convey his Government's advice or opinions and to report to his Government of events happening in the country to which he is accredited. Generally speaking, therefore, he should be a listener and not a talker. He must not make the leaders on the other side believe that he was taking sides or that he was interfering in any way in their work. In these circumstances he is to say little to them and he should not offer too much of advice. Above all, he must develop close and friendly relations with them all so that he might be treated as a trusted friend.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To A. Soekarno¹

New Delhi
June 30, 1949

My dear Soekarno,

One of our young men is going back to Indonesia, and I have taken advantage of his return to send you this letter through him.

I have long wanted to have the opportunity of meeting you and having full discussion with you about various matters in which both of us are interested. Unfortunately, the very moment that you intended coming here, you were prevented from doing so. That was a great disappointment for me. However, I hope we shall be able to meet before long.² I attach great value to the personal contacts that we have and I should like to develop them. We deal with each other on the diplomatic plane. In addition to that, it would be a great help to both of us if we kept up those personal contacts and added to them. So, whenever you are free to come here, you will be most welcome. Meanwhile, I have thought it worthwhile to write a note on 'India and Indonesia', and I am enclosing a copy of this note³ with this letter. I am also sending copies of this note to Hatta and Shahrir. This will give you some idea of how my mind is working.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Soekarno visited New Delhi from 9 to 14 January 1950.
3. See *ante*, item 1.

As I have said in the note, it is very difficult for me to offer advice to you or to your colleagues, because you are in the best position to judge as to what should be done. But if I may venture to offer one piece of advice of a rather general kind, it is this that nothing is more important for a national movement than to keep closely knit together and to present a common and united front against the enemy. Whether in India or Indonesia or elsewhere, our opponents have always tried to split the unity of the national movement and then to take advantage of the ensuing weakness and confusion of mind. We have suffered from that in India, and it is because of this that I venture to suggest that above everything the national movement must hold together till it has achieved its objective. Even a wrong step taken can be rectified. But anything that tends to produce dissensions in the movement, encourages the opponent and raises his morale. I trust, therefore, that the great movement of which you are the unrivalled leader, will stand united and will face all problems and crises as a whole, each individual subordinating himself to the common will of that movement.

It is certain that the Dutch will have to leave Indonesia, and that the responsibility for your great country will fall on your shoulders and those of your colleagues. One has to take care that when this happens, internal difficulties do not come in the way of a united working in the cause of the nation's freedom and progress. We had considerable difficulties in India and we are not out of the wood yet. In Burma, we have seen the dire results of internal dissensions.

As I have said above, I am eager to keep up personal contacts with you. I shall welcome, therefore, any private and personal communications from you which you care to send. I hope you will write quite frankly as between friends. I shall respect your confidence. Whatever you write, can be sent under secret and sealed cover and it will not be opened by anyone except by me. Even if you wish to write to me about our representative in Indonesia, do not hesitate to do so. The main purpose of our sending him there is to help you and to maintain contacts with you and your colleagues.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Mohammad Hatta¹

New Delhi
June 30, 1949

My dear Hatta,

As one of our young men is going to Indonesia to serve there, I am taking advantage of his visit to send you this letter. Also to enclose a note on 'India and Indonesia'. I have sent copies of this note to President Soekarno and Shahrir also.

The situation in Indonesia, as elsewhere, is full of difficulties. Nevertheless, I have firm faith that the cause of the Indonesian Republic will triumph. My only apprehension is that in these prolonged negotiations and manoeuvres of the Dutch, doubt and confusion may arise in the minds of the leaders of the Republic, leading to a loosening of the close bonds that hold them together. That would be more unfortunate than any other development can be. If the Republic presents a strong and united front, it does not much matter what the Dutch say or do. The question of Indonesia is a world question and there is a tremendous amount of sympathy for the Republic. But if the Republic itself gets entangled in its internal problems, then the world will not care so much as to what happens there. Hence, it is my earnest wish that, whatever happens, the leaders of the Republic will hold together before the common opponent.

I would greatly welcome the chance to meet you² and Soekarno and Shahrir. I do not know when that meeting can take place with anyone of you. But whenever an opportunity offers itself, I shall welcome it.

You can always write to me under sealed cover, sending the letter through our bag. Your cover will only be opened by me so you can write frankly.

With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Hatta visited New Delhi on way to The Hague on 8 and 9 August 1949.

5. To Sultan Shahrir¹

New Delhi
June 30, 1949

My dear Shahrir,

Sometime ago I sent a brief message to you suggesting that you might write to me confidentially and frankly under sealed cover. I have not heard from you since then. I know to some extent of the great difficulties that you and your colleagues have to face and the difficult decisions that all of you have to make. It is not possible for me to advise. Yet, since we have known each other as friends and come close to one another, I would greatly welcome these personal contacts. I would like you to write to me as frankly as possible under sealed cover and I can assure you that your confidence will be respected.

Of course it would have been much better if I could have met you. I hope that too can take place before very long. Meanwhile I am sending you a note I have written on 'India and Indonesia'. I am sending copies of this to President Soekarno and Hatta also. You will forgive me if I write about a matter which has troubled me somewhat. I am greatly concerned to learn that differences of opinion among the leaders of the Republic are growing. Differences there must be, but it seems to me of the first importance that the leaders of the Republic should hold together and jointly face the enemy. A wrong step may be righted and an error corrected, but if there are internal dissensions, that means an inner weakness which is bound to do injury to the cause. We have had bitter experience of this in India and as for Burma it is a tragic example.

I earnestly trust therefore that, whatever the differences, the leaders of the Republic will in action always present a united front to the world. Therein lies their great strength. We have seen often enough in national movements the highest of intellectuals proving rather ineffective. We have also seen great mass leaders who may not possess that intellectual understanding of events which a leader should have. We have to combine the two as far as possible and to remember always that the basic necessity for any big movement is the capacity to pull together despite differences. The Indonesian Republic has demonstrated its capacity to do so in the face of great perils. Hence its reputation and the respect in which it is held abroad.

I need not trouble you with a list of our own problems and difficulties here in India. We have plenty of them and it is often heart-breaking to see how things and people go wrong. Yet we carry on and try to keep up as large a front of national unity as possible.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

6. Greetings to Indonesia¹

On the anniversary of the declaration of your independence I send you, Mr President, and the Government and people of Indonesia our most cordial greetings and good wishes. During recent years India and Indonesia have revived those intimate contacts which grew up between these countries a thousand years ago and more. It has been a great joy to us in India to see the people of Indonesia under your wise guidance face difficulties and crises on their way to full freedom. I trust that the day is near when Your Excellency will achieve this great objective and the free people of Indonesia occupy their rightful place in the family of the free peoples of the world. I feel sure that in the future, as in the past, our two countries will be united by the closest bonds.

1. Cable to President Soekarno of Indonesia, 7 August 1949, for the anniversary of the declaration of Indonesian independence on 17 August 1945. J.N. Collection.

7. India's Support for Indonesia¹

Dr Hatta is going away to The Hague tomorrow for a very important conference² with the Netherlands Government. I do not wish to say much except to tell him that he carries all our good wishes with him for the successful outcome of this conference.

1. Speech introducing Mohammed Hatta, Indonesian Prime Minister, to the Members of the Constituent Assembly in New Delhi, 8 August 1949. From *The Bombay Chronicle* and *The Hindustan Times*, 10 August 1949.
2. From 23 August to 2 November 1949, at The Hague, the delegations of the Netherlands, the Republic of Indonesia, and the Federal Consultative Assembly met together and, with assistance from the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, came to an agreement which provided for the unconditional and complete transfer of sovereignty by the Netherlands to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

I have twenty-four-year old friendship with Dr Hatta, whom I first met at Brussels at a conference of oppressed peoples.³ We did not meet again till two years ago when Dr Hatta passed through Delhi for a day or two incognito.

I remember to my surprise when he suddenly appeared one day here in Delhi. I took him to see Mahatma Gandhi. Though we did not meet in the interval, we got in touch with one another to some extent by correspondence insofar as one could correspond when periodically both parties were in prison or in detention.

While in detention, Dr Hatta once wrote to me asking for some of my books which I sent and ultimately Dr Hatta got them.

Now we should remember that the Republic of Indonesia has no time for long sittings of a Constituent Assembly to discuss the finer points of constitutional law. They have to fight for their existence.

In the present context of events this struggle in Indonesia is not only important for us for a number of reasons but it is of the highest significance. It is really something much more than the struggle of a particular nation for freedom. It becomes symbolic in many ways of the struggle of Asia to get rid of European or foreign control, imperialism and colonialism. In Asia today that is the most obvious struggle of that type.

Secondly, it is of peculiar interest to India, because the fate of the future of South East Asia depends on that struggle. There are all kinds of forces at play in South East Asia. By any misfortune, if the forces of progressive nationalism, which are represented by the present Government of Republic of Indonesia, do not triumph, then it is a bad day not only for Indonesia but for the rest of South East Asia and may be even for India. Our fates are intimately connected. Most of you must appreciate that while India is a very big country and a little world in itself, nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly impossible not to consider India's problems in connection with the rest of Asia or even the rest of the world. So, we are very deeply interested in Indonesia's future.

In another sense Indonesia is a very significant example of old association with India, culturally and otherwise. Indeed, if you want to know the heights that ancient Indian art had reached, you will have to go to Java and other places, because it reached perhaps greater heights there than even in India. The people of Indonesia and the leaders of Indonesia have always looked upon India with warm-hearted affection.

Therefore, it is a very peculiar pleasure for me to welcome a great leader of the Indonesian Republic, a great fighter for freedom, and I hope a statesman who will lead the future independent United States of Indonesia to prosperity and contentment and help in bringing about a greater unity in Asia.

3. In February 1927, Hatta was chairman of the Indonesian Students Association in the Netherlands.

8. To A. Soekarno¹

New Delhi
August 12, 1949

My dear Soekarno,

Dr Hatta gave me your letter of July 30, which I was happy to receive. During his two days' stay here we had full talks with Hatta. I gave him a note² on India's position in the Commonwealth and what changes will take place from January 26th onwards when India becomes a full fledged Republic. We have also arranged for a legal and constitutional adviser to be available at The Hague should the Indonesian delegation require one. We have at present one of our younger constitutional experts attached to our Paris Embassy. We have asked him to go to The Hague whenever he is wanted there.

It appears that financial discussions may also take place between your delegation and the Dutch Government—also questions perhaps of pensions, compensation, etc. In all such matters it might be of help to your delegation to know what we have done here in the course of the last two or three years. Any necessary information could always be sent by us. I have suggested to Hatta to keep in touch with our Ambassador³ there so that we may be kept fully informed and could send such information as might be required there. Our Embassy in London could also be of help in a variety of ways.

I received your message about asking Hatta to stay on in Delhi long after he had gone to Karachi. We forwarded your message there and telephoned to our High Commissioner at Karachi asking him to visit Dr Hatta immediately and enquire from him what he proposed to do. For our part, we suggested that he would be welcome in Delhi should he choose to come back here. Hatta, however, informed our High Commissioner that he had been in touch with Cochran⁴ (or was it Critchley⁵) and that he had decided to go on to The Hague. Perhaps it was as well that he has gone now.⁶ The Dutch Government have tried to explain away the previous statement.

You know that the whole purpose of our appointing a Consul General in Batavia was to keep contact with the Indonesian Republic and its leaders. Otherwise there was no reason for us to send someone there. Owing to certain constitutional difficulties we could not directly appoint a Consul General or a Minister to the Republic. We were perfectly prepared even to bypass these constitutional difficulties, provided that some good resulted from this. But in the context of things

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, Section 12, sub-section I, item 1, pp. 363-365.

3. Mohan Singh Mehta.

4. Merle Cochran was a member of the U.N. Commission on Indonesia.

5. T.K. Critchley was also a member of the U.N. Commission on Indonesia.

6. Hatta left Karachi for The Hague on 11 August 1949.

it would have been rather an empty gesture. In effect, contacts could only be maintained by us with you with a measure of Dutch assistance. If we ignored the Dutch, we could not even reach you or send anyone to you. We were more anxious to have those contacts than merely to make an empty gesture without contacts. Hence we decided to send our Consul General to Batavia, but with him we sent Mohammad Yunus, whom we asked to represent us especially at Jogjakarta. Again because of certain constitutional difficulties, we did not clearly signify what Yunus' position was. In practice, he was our representative with your Government at Jogjakarta. But in the diplomatic set up he was assisting our Consul General in Jogjakarta.

Now that we have sent Mani, we felt that he should, for the present, function more or less as Yunus did. We have arranged that he should communicate with us directly by telegram and he has been given a cypher assistant for the purpose. This will avoid the delay in sending messages to Batavia first and will also keep us in direct and intimate touch with you. From the practical point of view, this will be an improvement on the past. From the theoretical point of view, I do not quite see what other step is indicated at present regarding a more direct representation of our Government at Jogjakarta at a higher level. We would gladly agree to this if it helps and does not lead to a confusing situation. For the present I suggest that we should wait for the outcome of The Hague conference. But whatever that outcome might be, rest assured that we want to do everything in our power to be closely associated with you and to help you.

I explained all this to Hatta and he agreed with me.

During the past year, and more especially since the military action by the Dutch in December last, we have been happy to have been in some service to your Government in maintaining your communications with your agents abroad. That service we shall, of course, continue to render and it will become, I hope, more efficient and speedier, now that Mani can send messages direct to us.

We shall, of course, have our formal and diplomatic relations and these will grow. But I am even more anxious to maintain personal contacts with you and your principal colleagues. That is why I suggested to you in my last letter that you might write to me frankly whenever you felt like it. I want you to tell me in what ways we can help, wherein our representatives are doing good work and where they are not. This information will be entirely confidential and can come in a sealed cover from you in our bag. I want you not to hesitate to write to me or telegraph to me on any subject.

I quite realize that you cannot possibly leave Indonesia while Hatta is away. It is difficult to make any plans when the future is being discussed. But I hope that some time or other in the near future you will be able to come here. I can assure you of a very warm welcome from all of us.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

III. Africa

1. To The Secretary-General of the United Nations¹

The Government of India are anxious to take early steps in pursuance of the resolution on the treatment of persons of Indian origin in South Africa, which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its 212th plenary meeting held on May 14, 1949. Immediately on the return of their delegation from the United Nations they sent on June 13, 1949 a message to the Government of Pakistan suggesting that a round table conference be held in terms of the resolution of the General Assembly. On the 4th July the Government of India addressed a telegram to the Government of the Union of South Africa enquiring whether the Union Government are agreeable to a round table conference being convened as provided for in the resolution and, if so, where and when. Government of India also stated in the telegram that while details of agenda and other matters relating to the conference could, if the Union Government agreed to such a conference being held, be discussed later, any suggestions that the Union Government might care to make now would receive the Government of India's most careful consideration. No reply to this telegram has yet been received.

Government of India are now informed that, on June 30, 1949, the Union Parliament enacted a new Act called the Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act which amends the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, 1946, and some of the earlier Acts, namely Transvaal Law 3 of 1885, and Asiatic (Land and Trading) Amendment Act (Transvaal) of 1919. The Act of 1946 did not impose any restrictions in regard to occupation of any land or premises exclusively for purposes of business or trade for which a licence was issued under the law. The new Act amends this provision with the broad result that an Asiatic will, after June 1, 1949, be prevented from occupying any new land or premises even for purposes of business or trade in areas in which ownership and residence are already prohibited. The Act imposes, for the first time, territorial segregation on Asiatics even for trade and business. Government of India consider that the latest Act constitutes fresh violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights. They have already lodged a protest with the Union Government² against this legislation but feel it their duty to convey the matter immediately to the notice of the United Nations for such action as the Secretary-General may deem practicable.

1. Cable, New Delhi, 10 July 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. On 10 July 1949.

2. India Against Racial Inequality¹

I met Mr Koinange² in December last year and heard a great deal about his activities and how much he was respected in East Africa. I want you, Sir, to meet all manner of people during your stay in India and make a thorough study of our country so as not to carry a limited and restricted picture of the new-born India. You must have a complete picture of India before you. We are a vibrant people struggling against numerous problems at present. We have both virtues and failings. Sometimes we over-emphasize our virtues but also often tend to exaggerate our failings during moods of self-flagellation. But whatever our virtues and failings, we are a dynamic people. There is little doubt that we are making good and will make good.

There are many Indians who are now settled in East Africa. This fact naturally evokes the interest of the Indian Government, anxious to protect their nationals abroad and are zealous of their honour as every Indian outside is a bit of India and the honour of India is wrapped up in him. Our Government, however, does not want Indians in Africa to exploit the people or have privileges which will interfere with their progress. We want Indians there to help in the prosperity and development of those countries. This is based to some extent on motives of idealism but from practical considerations, as well, it is necessary for India and Africa to understand and help each other.

Africa has so far been under-developed but today the people of Africa, especially those of East Africa, are developing a new outlook that is bound to bring revolutionary changes. The foreigners' exploitation is being keenly felt and the people are becoming conscious of their rights. I think that it will be in the interest of world peace to recognize the fact that Africa is waking up and other countries must adjust their policies accordingly.

The foreign policy of the Government of India is directed against racial inequality existing in some parts of the world. We have made this policy very clear in our Constitution and we are determined to practise it to the full. I am confident that if we hold fast to this policy we will make good.

Mr Koinange, please convey our feelings of love and sympathy to your countrymen and tell them that the people of India are always ready to help them in the development and prosperity of East Africa.

1. Speech at a reception to Peter Koinange organized by Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, New Delhi, 4 August 1949. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 5 August 1949.
2. Peter Moiye Koinange.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

IV. The Asian Pacific Union

1. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegrams Nos. 1 and 2W dated the 16th and 17th July, respectively. Normally, we should have been happy to send representative to Asian Conference in Manila to discuss political and economic trends affecting Asia, in general, and South East Asia, in particular.² We regret our inability to do so at the time suggested for following reasons:

(i) It is impossible to divorce proposed conference from the one which recently resulted in a joint manifesto³ by the Philippines' President,⁴ Chiang Kai-shek and the South Korean Republic, manifesto which announced formation of united front against communism by these three and foreshadowed consultation with other countries for broadening this front. "Political trends" referred to by Philippines' President in his message to you does not exclude consideration of this subject from purview of proposed conference. Romulo's⁵ explanation notwithstanding, proposed conference, as sequel to the one between Quirino and Chiang Kai-shek, is certain to be honestly regarded or wilfully misrepresented as designed to promote formation of anti-Communist bloc in Asia.

We are dealing with Communists in our own way in India, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as sympathetic to communism, where it takes form of violent effort to disrupt a State or social order. We have, however, consistently refrained from any activity that may be regarded as political hostility to communist ideology as such or to communist States. As realist, one has to recognize that Communists control greater part of China and may, before long, control the whole of that country. In broader interest of international peace, it is not desirable that we should do anything that would make cultivation of normal friendly relations with the new China difficult, if not impossible. Conference of the kind now proposed and, in time sequence already described, can only rouse suspicion and hostility of new China.

(ii) We do not know what other nations are willing to participate. Indonesia should participate because of its regional importance but could not possibly do so at the time suggested because its leaders will be attending their own Conference at The Hague. Burma's preoccupation with its domestic troubles makes it unlikely that it could take effective part in the Conference until situation stabilizes.

1. New Delhi, 19 July 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. An Asian Conference was convened by Elpidio Quirino, President of the Philippines, to discuss the possibility of establishing an Asian organization for mutual cooperation to fight communism.

3. On 11 July 1949.

4. Elpidio Quirino (1890-1956); President of Philippines, 1948-53.

5. Carlos P. Romulo.

Participation of reactionary Governments such as those of Siam⁶ and Bao Dai⁷ would hardly enhance prestige of the Conference.

(iii) Though your participation would be eminently desirable on personal grounds, participation while you are Ambassador in Washington would be liable to misrepresentation. This could be overcome by associating with you someone important from here but series of important conferences followed by final stages of consideration of our Constitution in August would make it impossible to spare anyone suitable.

2. You should explain our position as tactfully as possible to Romulo or Philippine Ambassador⁸ in Washington and also advise, if you see no objection, that conference be deferred to a later date than mid-August, say till the end of the year so that its purpose will not be liable to misrepresentation of kind mentioned in (i) and (ii) of the preceding paragraph.

6. Thailand was ruled at this time by Luang Phibun Songgram who had supported the Japanese during the Second World War and had seized power in a military coup in November 1947. In July 1949 he initiated measures against the Communists and arrested all his opponents.
7. On 14 June 1949, Bao Dai (b. 1913), was proclaimed emperor of Vietnam. Earlier, in July 1948, the French derecognized the Viet Minh Government headed by Ho Chi Minh and on 8 March 1949 signed an agreement with Bao Dai, ex-emperor of Annam, a State in Vietnam, and decided to establish independent Vietnam within the framework of the French Union.
8. Joaquin M. Elizalde.

2. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

I have carefully considered Romulo's message to you² telegraphed in your No. 704 dated 9th August. In my telegram No. 21087 dated 19th July,³ I explained

1. New Delhi, 12 August 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. In his telegram Romulo spelled out the objectives for the proposed Asian Union: first, the immediate one, to invite interested countries to a conference at Baguio to discuss methods for closer political, economic and cultural cooperation between them, and second, the long-range objective, without military commitments, to have mutual cooperation for the maintenance of peace and freedom within the framework of the United Nations. He clarified that the proposed union would be in keeping with the goals envisaged at the Conference in New Delhi in January 1948, that it would be non-military, and that Quirino had made no reference to the union being an anti-Communist pact.
3. See the previous item.

our position and pointed out that a conference in the context of the Quirino-Chiang Kai-shek meeting was certain to be honestly regarded or wilfully misrepresented as designed to promote the formation of an anti-Communist bloc in Asia. I learn that, as recently as 8th August, Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee⁴ called upon the Philippine President to convene soon a conference to bring about the birth of the proposed Pacific Union against communism. According to a U.P.A. message from Washington, dated 10th August, Quirino urged quick U.S. support for a Union of the Pacific nations "in this perilous hour so that Asia will not be lost to communism by default." Such pronouncements make it impossible for us to consider now participation in the kind of conference mentioned by Romulo. Its objectives may look innocuous but, in the light of what has happened, the conference itself is sure to be regarded by many as a move against communism in general and Communist China in particular. We have no objection to sending representatives to a conference in Baguio, whose objectives are as defined by Romulo, but, before we can do so time must be given for the world to forget the pronouncements to which I have referred, and the pronouncements must not be repeated.

4. (1875-1965); served while in exile as the elected President of the Korean Provisional Government, 1919-1939; President of the Republic of Korea (South Korea), 1948-60.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS
V. Bilateral Relations

(i) THE UNITED STATES

1. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1949

My dear Matthai,

I have just seen copy of a telegram No. 32808 which K.R.K. Menon has sent to B.K. Nehru.² In this telegram it is said that "Minister thinks no necessity to telegraph Ambassador in Washington at present. Would leave it to you to suggest necessary action to her after appraising situation on spot." I am writing to you immediately, as any delay in informing our Ambassador in Washington about B.K. Nehru's and Roy's³ visit to Washington would embarrass us very greatly and might have rather unfortunate consequences.⁴ We have always laid the greatest stress on the Ambassador being informed immediately of any official who goes from India to any part of the country. This is necessary for a variety of reasons, as no official is supposed to have any contact with an official of the other Government except through our Embassy. A direct approach would be a breach of convention and would put our Ambassador in a most embarrassing position. It has sometimes happened that the State Department knew about our official going there before our Ambassador knew about it. This is interpreted by the State Department as a slight by us on our Ambassador, as if we did not trust the Ambassador. The Ambassador's position thus becomes difficult.

Also normally all communications to the State Department go through our Ambassador, whatever they might be. In regard to technical matters, of course the Ambassador has little or no say, but she must know that such a message has gone. Anything, in fact, that the State Department or any Department of the U.S. Government knows about us, must be known to our Ambassador. If the State Department asks a question, it will be to the Embassy and they must be in a position generally to know how to answer it. This does not mean answering technical or financial questions which will naturally be referred to the experts present.

Apart from this, if any official goes from here to Washington, somebody has to make arrangements for their stay. If the Embassy is not asked to do so, somebody else will be asked. That somebody may be some junior official of ours there or in New York or, worse still, the State Department people. In either event, it will

1. File No. 28 (26)-G-II/49, M.E.A., N.A.I. Also available in J.N. Collection.
2. Brij Kumar Nehru.
3. Keith C. Roy, I.C.S., was Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Finance at this time.
4. B.K. Nehru and Roy were asked by John Matthai to proceed to Washington from London to hold discussions with the Indian representatives at the International Monetary Fund to expedite release of additional drawing of \$100 million from the Fund, and to hold discussions with U.S. State Department to pressurize its Export and Import Bank to release dollar aid to India.

be a matter which will be commented upon and create unnecessary difficulty and ill-feeling.

Therefore it is quite essential that whoever goes, must first inform the Ambassador and then set about his business. He will inevitably have to see the Ambassador sometime or other and it is far better that he should do so right at the commencement.

I suggest, therefore, that you might send a telegram to B.K. Nehru asking him immediately to inform our Ambassador at Washington about his and Roy's visit. Also that both of them should see the Ambassador first and generally acquaint her with the purpose of their visit. She need not take any special action, except, of course, to acquaint the State Department of their coming. In addition to your telegram, I should like the Foreign Office to send a separate telegram to our Ambassador informing her of B.K. Nehru's and Roy's visit.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
June 22, 1949

My dear Ambassador,

Two or three days ago I saw your telegram about Sanjeevi Pillai.² Your telegram was evidently dictated in a state of irritation, but the content of it was perfectly justified and I was greatly annoyed myself. As a matter of fact I saw Sanjeevi before he went away and laid great stress on his contacting you and keeping in touch with you throughout his visit. I think I wrote to you also on the subject. I was particularly anxious to make this point clear because there was some difficulty and confusion during Sanjeevi's visit to London some months back. I did not want that to be repeated. Now, much to my surprise, I find in your telegram that something of the same kind was happening again. I do not wish to come to any conclusion

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Vijayalakshmi informed G.S. Bajpai that an official of the State Department apologetically informed the Indian Embassy that he was obliged to make arrangements for Sanjeevi's stay in New York and Washington as a result of arrangement between Loy Henderson and K.P.S. Menon. She regretted that this procedure had weakened the Embassy's prestige, and that "immediate steps should be taken to explain to Loy Henderson that he must stop making arrangements for Indian nationals...direct with his Government and must respect and follow usual procedure in such cases."

without knowing the facts from Sanjeevi's side. But in any event we have told him to get in touch with you immediately.

This kind of thing sometimes happens in the loose structure of our Government. Only two days ago it was decided to send B.K. Nehru to Washington for a few days in connection with the discussions now going on in the International Monetary Fund. B.K. went to London for the sterling balances talks. Dr Matthai³ was to have gone to London today, but his visit has been postponed for ten days. So B.K. and others had no special work in London. In view of the importance of the discussions in the International Monetary Fund in regard to India, Matthai decided to ask B.K. to go over informally to Washington to assist our representatives⁴ there. He is anxious not to make this a formal visit at this stage. I do not myself appreciate the difference. Because he considered this as an informal visit, he did not instruct him to report himself to you immediately. As soon as I heard this I told him that, whether the visit was formal or informal, any official of our Government must first go to our Embassy and our Embassy must be previously informed of his visit. So further telegrams were sent.

As a matter of fact probably you have already left Washington and are in New York today. You might meet B.K. there.

Dr Matthai will be writing to you soon rather fully about certain important matters. It may be necessary for you to take up these matters with the Secretary to the Treasury. If the matter is important enough, you may have to go back to Washington for it. I remember you informing us of your meeting the Secretary to the Treasury and his friendly talk with you.

We have been very much surprised at certain reports that have reached us about the talks going on in the International Monetary Fund on India's request for a loan.⁵ That Fund sent a Commission here to enquire.⁶ It was a very high-level Commission. I have seen their report. It is on the whole a good report, critical but favourable to India and recommending a loan. Now we learn that difficulties are coming in the way,⁷ why I cannot imagine. Normally a recommendation should be accepted. I also understand that the American Governor of the Bank⁸ is the man who is raising these difficulties. All this requires careful and tactful dealing and at some stage, perhaps not far off, the matter will have to be taken up by you with the Treasury there. After all the American representative on

3. John Matthai.

4. J.V. Joshi and B.K. Madan were Indian members on the Executive Board of the International Monetary Fund at this time.

5. India made a formal request to the I.M.F. for drawing \$100 million on 16 June 1949.

6. In January 1949, for three weeks.

7. The Indian representatives at I.M.F. were informed that India's application for the loan could be considered only after their Board had approved its Commission's report. India therefore withdrew her application on 17 June 1949.

8. John W. Synder.

the International Monetary Fund is nominated by the Treasury. It is just possible that Deshmukh,⁹ who is in London now, might be asked to go over to Washington. Perhaps you know that Deshmukh's wife died a short while ago. Although they were parted for years, this has rather broken up Deshmukh. He was looking forward to going to England to meet her.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

9. C.D. Deshmukh.

3. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1949

My dear Matthai,

... I do not myself see the necessity for too much caution about our approach to the U.S. Government in regard to the loan from the International Monetary Fund. I should think that we should bring the greatest pressure on them from now onwards and not wait till the situation had developed to our disadvantage. I am glad you spoke to Henderson.² I think Bajpai should call him up and speak to him forcibly and officially on the same subject. If you agree, we shall do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. In his telegram to Acheson on 23 June 1949, Henderson informed him of his interview with Matthai a day earlier in which Matthai had conveyed India's concern at U.S. representative opposing Indian application for dollar withdrawals from I.M.F. by which "India's dollar situation would become immediately desperate and India's entire budget plans upset."

4. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1949

Nan dear,

Bajpai has shown me your letter dated 15th June.

About J.J. Singh, I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to Walsh.² I quite agree with you that we should not tolerate the kind of behaviour in which he sometimes indulges.

About Indian visitors to the U.S., I have already taken the steps you indicate. That is, I have informed not only our various ministries and departments but others also that they should not approach the President or any high official in America except through the Embassy. Further that there is no reason why they should seek interviews with the President. It is a little difficult, however, to check non-officials who may go there.

I think that, while our Embassy should of course be perfectly courteous to Indian visitors, there is no reason why you should give parties and provide cars to all of them.

About my visit to the U.S., I have already told you that my programme should be drawn up in consultation with the State Department. I would indeed very gladly place a wreath on President Roosevelt's grave in Hyde Park and spend the afternoon with Mrs Roosevelt.

I think that some time or other you might send me a very provisional programme or at any rate a list of engagements that you think I should make. I could then give you some idea of my reactions.

With love from
Jawahar

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See the next item.

5. To Richard J. Walsh¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1949

My dear Walsh,

Sometime ago I received a letter from you on behalf of the India League inviting

1. J.N. Collection.

me to a function during my visit to the U.S. I think my Secretary replied to it saying that I will gladly attend such a function, but my programme was not fixed and it will be finalized later by our Washington Embassy in consultation with the State Department.

The India League has done good work in the U.S. in the past and, in the ordinary course of events, I would naturally have liked to meet its members and share in some function with them. But the India League suffers from a serious disability and that is Mr J.J. Singh's association with it. I am not concerned with individuals as a rule while dealing with organizations. I, therefore, rather ignored J.J. Singh's association with the India League, although he plays an important part in it.

I feel that I must write to you frankly about J.J. Singh. But I do so not as a personal matter but as something affecting our general policy abroad and our foreign relations. For two or three years past people who visited the U.S. from India have brought back reports about J.J. Singh which were uniformly unfavourable to him. They agreed that sometimes he was a pushing and effective worker. But his methods of work did not appear to them to be desirable or decent. His conceit and egotism were colossal. He wrote to me once, about a year or more ago, a very long letter about himself. I have never had the misfortune to receive a letter which was so full of conceit and vulgarity. I do not take kindly to vulgarity. Since then I have avoided writing to him, even formal letters. I did not otherwise wish to come in his way as that was not my concern.

But it is very much my concern as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of India to see that India's prestige does not suffer abroad. The latest report I have had from a number of Indian visitors to the U.S. is that J.J. Singh has been publicly maligning the Government of India and criticizing our policy, notably in regard to Kashmir and that he has used unbecoming language about our Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel. Further that he has written a letter to our Ambassador which is improper.

It is open to Mr J.J. Singh to hold any views he likes and to express them as and when he likes, but it is not open to him to pose as a representative of India unless he behaves decently and in conformity with Indian ways and opinions. My objection is to his representing himself as a representative of India when both his views and actions do not conform to this.

Because of this it may be necessary for us, if occasion arises, to dissociate ourselves publicly from Mr J.J. Singh's activities and to make it clear that he is no representative of ours in any sense. I am writing to you on this matter because you and he both are prominent members of the India League. I am sorry that the India League should be dragged into the picture in this way and I do not quite know how to separate it from J.J. Singh. But I think you should know how my mind is working. Because we cannot tolerate any person who behaves as J.J. Singh

does and expresses the opinions as he does to mislead people in America or elsewhere into thinking that he represents India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. The Coming Visit to America¹

...As for my meeting the industrialists, I am prepared to do so at Louis Johnson's place or elsewhere. But I can hardly be expected to discuss with them our different projects. That is a matter for detailed consideration by experts. I can speak to them generally and I can refer to some of our projects in the course of my talk. Dr J.C. Ghosh will be there and he ought to be fully prepared to discuss these matters. Our Embassy ought to have all facts and particulars with them, and the Ministries here can prepare full notes. But all this will have to be discussed in detail by other people, not by me.

4. As for press conferences, I do not quite know what the Information Section of our Ministry can do in the matter at this stage. Certainly, if a list of possible questions is sent, it will be helpful. But I am afraid I might surprise Mr Louis Johnson as well as the members of the press by my responses and replies. I do not think it is good politics, nor do I think it suits my temperament, to deal with such matters in a routine or cautious way. I shall have to rely chiefly on my reaction at the moment. However, the more facts are supplied previously, the better.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 29 July 1949. File No. 45-192/49-AMS, M.E.A., N.A.I. Extracts.

7. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
August 6, 1949

Nan dear,

Bajpai and K.P.S. Menon have been communicating with you about my programme. I have interfered little, as I do not know much about it. I hope that a final programme will emerge during the next few days.

1. J.N. Collection.

As you will have noticed I have allowed full 21 days for the U.S. and 3 days for Canada. That is more than what I intended at first. I want to reach London on the 4th November morning. If absolutely necessary, I might extend this by one day and make it the 5th November morning to reach London. Beyond that I cannot go.

I presume you will accompany me during this tour. As I have said, Indira and Mathai will come with me. I have tried to keep my party as small as possible, partly to save expense. Also because the only person who can go with me and be of help in various ways is Bajpai and I would like him to stay here during my absence. Yesterday, however, Henderson, the U.S. Ambassador, paid us a visit and suggested that it was usual and indeed necessary that some senior official should go with me to carry on conversations for which I would not have time. Also to screen me to some extent from interviewers. He said that for such an important visit, such officials were necessary. There is something in what he says and I shall have to think about it again.

When I arrive in America, I suppose I shall adapt myself to the new environment. But I confess I dislike this business of speaking a lot. I do not mind speaking in India, but outside there are all kinds of inhibitions which they attach to a foreign minister. I am not used to inhibitions and so I shall have to face a difficulty in my own mind, having to weigh every word that I say.

I have been following your tour of the West Coast and have been glad at the fine receptions you have had. I have been troubled a little by the fact that you have delivered numerous speeches. Normally of course a diplomat speaks little and it would be unusual in any country outside the U.S. for much speaking to be done by an Ambassador. In the reports of your speeches there has been nothing to which one can take exception. But I have wondered if it is a wise policy to give good advice to any people and to talk too much about our high ideals. Our immediate past and present is not in consonance with these high ideals and we may lay ourselves open to a courteous retort. Some criticisms have appeared in the Indian press on this subject.

Sardar Patel left today for Bombay for treatment. I am afraid his health is definitely on the down grade and I rather doubt if he will ever really regain it. He is carrying on chiefly because of his strong will. He is not a man who can detach himself from his work, as I can to a certain extent, and the result is that he worries continually. His ill-health casts an additional burden on me.

Dr Hatta, Vice President and Premier of the Indonesian Republic is due here tomorrow for two days' stay on his way to The Hague for the round table conference.

With love from
Jawahar

8. To John Haynes Holmes¹

New Delhi
August 9, 1949

My dear Mr Holmes,

Thank you for your letter of July 20.² It is always a pleasure to hear from you.

I am afraid it will not be possible for me to accept your invitation to speak at the Community Church. During my three weeks in the U.S., I shall be wandering about all over that great country, and my time is completely taken up. Apart from this, it is very much outside my line to give an address from any kind of pulpit. I do not like trying to do things for which I am not fitted.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. J.N. Collection.

2. In his letter Holmes talked of the "great excitement in the report of your proposed visit to America" and hoped of having "the honor of receiving you in my pulpit and presenting you to my congregation" like distinguished Indians "from Lala Lajpat Rai in the older days to Prof. Radhakrishnan a year or so ago."

9. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
August 14, 1949

My dear Matthai,

I have received two letters from my sister from Washington—one more or less an official report and the other a personal letter. I think they might interest you and so I am sending them to you. As I am sending the originals, kindly return them after reading them.

I am sending these letters to you partly to show the great interest that my proposed visit is arousing in America. It is a dual interest, governmental and that of the people generally. A correspondent of the *Washington Post*, who recently came from America, told me today that he had never known so much excitement about the visit of any person to America.

1. J.N. Collection.

All this is no doubt good, but it is rather overwhelming. There is little doubt that my visit will be played up greatly by the press and the people of the United States and I am giving a great deal of thought as to how to deal with this situation there. For me I think it will be the wrong policy and tactic to approach America as one seeking help and to talk too much about it. I can help greatly in producing a suitable and friendly atmosphere and in increasing greatly the interest in India as well as a realization of the importance of India in the general world set-up. To lay stress on the helplessness of India without American assistance would not be good. Of course I propose to talk frankly, whenever occasion arises, about American help in various ways, but to talk rather in a confident tone conscious of India's position and with faith in India. It will be for others like Deshmukh to talk more precisely about any particular matter like a loan or any kind of deferred payment for goods or wheat supplied. I should not like to lay stress on the Marshall Aid Plan in the sense of free gifts to India. If a free gift is made of wheat, etc. there is no reason why we should not accept it. But to ask for it does not seem seemly. I should like Deshmukh and others also, while going into details, etc. generally to keep in tune with what I say.

This visit to the United States will be interesting in many ways, but it will also be rather a burden and I must have some people to share that burden with me. I have decided to take Bajpai. I have also decided to take Indira with me, as I think she can be of great help in many ways. I feel, however that, on the whole, it will not be desirable to cast the burden of Indira's travelling expenses on the public exchequer. I might be justified in doing so and I know that this is normally done. But in the peculiar circumstances prevailing in India, it would be better, I think, that her travelling expenses were met by me personally. That will not be particularly an easy matter for me, but I suppose I shall survive it. Expenses in the United States are likely to be very limited, as we shall be guests of the United States Government. I suggest that the initial fares, etc. of the party might be met, to begin with, from Government funds and that I should repay Indira's expenses. I hope you will agree with this arrangement.

My party will thus consist of, apart from me, Bajpai, Indira and my Secretary, M.O. Mathai.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) AFGHANISTAN**1. Policy towards Afghanistan¹**

I have read your note about your meeting with the Afghan Ambassador.² I agree with what you said to him. I am rather anxious that there should be no misunderstanding about this matter.

First of all we are not going to enter into any secret treaty.

Secondly, we are in favour of peaceful solution of problems. We recognize that the maintenance of peace is not a one-sided affair, and conditions may arise which will make it difficult for the Afghan Government to maintain peace.

Thirdly, I do not myself see what formula can be evolved, as suggested. Certainly we should not initiate any proposal of this kind.

Fourthly, we could not go behind the consequences of the partition which we have accepted, unless some new situation arose.

Fifthly, we were very much distressed at the policy of the Pakistan Government in the North West Frontier Province. We were entirely in favour of the people of the Frontier Province being given the opportunity to decide for themselves about their Government.

Sixthly, the tribal areas stood on a somewhat different footing from the selected areas in the Frontier. The British Government has stated that Pakistan was the inheritor of such rights as the British possessed in regard to the tribal areas before the partition.³ Whatever the legal position might be, it is clear that the partition brought major changes which naturally affect tribal areas. In any proper decision that might be made, the will of the people of the tribal areas must play an important part.

We have already given economic and financial aid to Afghanistan, and we shall continue to help in this way, as far as possible. We cannot give arms for a number of reasons, among them being our lack of arms and the ammunition, and the practical difficulty of supplying them without creating new problems.

Our policy should be, as you have said, of friendly waiting and considering each issue as it arises on its merits.⁴

1. Note to Secretary-General, 9 July 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. Sardar Najibullah Khan.

3. This was stated by P.J. Noel-Baker, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, in the House of Commons on 30 June 1949.

4. A treaty of peace and friendship between India and Afghanistan was signed on 4 January 1950.

(iii) BURMA

1. To Thakin Nu¹

New Delhi
July 1, 1949

My dear Thakin Nu,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th June which reached me two days ago.

I am happy to learn from reports received that the Burmese Government forces are meeting with success against the rebels and that your Government is consolidating its position in various parts of Burma. I hope that this will continue and that the rebellion will be put an end to before long.

I have read your letter with considerable surprise. So far as we were concerned, we associated ourselves with the offer to give financial aid without any stipulations in regard to the Karens. As you know, effective financial aid could only come from the United Kingdom and we are not at all in a position to provide it. The only possible way we could have helped was to get blocked sterling released from the United Kingdom. Ultimately the matter resolved itself into the U.K. either giving direct financial aid or unfreezing our sterling balances so that we might also help a little. Thus the burden of decision in regard to the financial aid rested with the U.K. and we could only associate ourselves with it because we were anxious that the Burmese Government should be helped in every way.

As regards the Karen revolt, you will remember that I discussed it with you at some length when you were here and I also gave you a long note on the subject.² That note contained my views and you were good enough to attach some weight to them.

I have no idea what proposals were made by the Karen rebels to you, nor do I know what the Bowker³ proposals were.⁴ We received a message from the U.K. Government which was meant to be transmitted on to you. We suggested certain changes in it. I do not know what Dr Rauf meant by saying that something was done in spite of his advice. This might refer to advice to me or to advice to Bowker. I do not remember receiving any particular advice in this connection from him.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Thakin Nu visited India on 12 and 13 April 1949. For Nehru's note on military aid to Burma, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 10, pp. 408, 410-416.

3. B.J. Bowker (1901-1986); British Ambassador to Burma, 1948-50.

4. It was reported that at a meeting of Commonwealth Ambassadors with Thakin Nu, Bowker told him that Britain would support Burma financially only if Burma agreed in principle to sign a peace treaty with the Karens.

I have all along told you that you are in the best position to decide what should be done and what should not be done and it would be improper for us to interfere, in anyway, except in a helpful spirit. It is quite clear that some Britishers have been encouraging the Karen rebels. I doubt myself if the British Government has anything to do with this. From the talks I had with them it was quite clear that they were anxious for the Burmese Government to suppress the rebels. Indeed it was because of this anxiety that they were eager to help you.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To M.A.Rauf¹

New Delhi
July 1, 1949

My dear Rauf,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Thakin Nu and a copy of my reply to him.²

I do not quite understand the reference in Thakin Nu's letter. More particularly I am intrigued by what you are reported to have said to him to the effect that "it was done in spite of my advice". To whom was this advice tendered? To Bowker or to me? If the reference is to any advice given to us, I do not remember it in this context. But, in any event, if that reference was to us, it was hardly proper for you to say it to the Burmese Prime Minister....

It is entirely for the Burmese Government to decide whether they want any help from us or not. Nobody wants to force help upon them against their will. I am afraid, they are much too nervous and suspicious. I quite understand their irritation against certain Britishers who are obviously instigating the Karen rebels. But they should at least know that we have not the slightest interest in the Karens and we have gone pretty far out of our way to give them help out of our slender resources.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.
2. See the preceding item.

(iv) CHINA AND TIBET

1. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
July 1, 1949

Nan Dear,

... I have just seen your telegram to Bajpai about your interview with Dean Acheson. I am sending a personal telegram to you in reply.² Bajpai might perhaps send a separate message.³ I must say that I find this constant pressure on us to settle the Kashmir issue rather irritating. We are going to send you a long statement about Kashmir soon. It should be clearly understood that we are not weakening on this issue. Indeed we cannot. ...

It is a little difficult to deal with Madame Chiang's talk with you. The Chiang Kai-sheks and their group have singularly failed in China, failed not because of military reasons, but essentially because of their other policies. There is not a ghost of a chance of their succeeding now. Hardly anybody who counts in China thinks so. With all my friendship for the Chiangs, I cannot as Prime Minister or Foreign Minister, shut my eyes to facts and to my own convictions. I might add that Dr Lo⁴ has proved very loyal to Chiang Kai-shek and has tried his utmost to put the case for him to me—perhaps better than Madame Chiang did to you. He has done so not to me only, but to others. I do not think anybody else could have done it better, partly because he is no fool, in spite of what Madame Chiang might say, and partly because he is liked by everybody here and his integrity is believed in. Naturally I have spoken to him in a friendly way, but I have made it clear that all we can do is to watch and we cannot possibly ally ourselves with the Kuomintang merely because of the past. We cannot ignore facts.

There are in India today very few people who have a good word for the Kuomintang. Our newspapers are nearly all against it. Therefore, even if I wanted

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. See *ante*, p. 330.

3. Bajpai replied to Vijayalakshmi on 1 July that he was not surprised at Acheson's suggestion for a plebiscite administrator in Kashmir or his threat of withholding the World Bank or U.S. loans to India if India did not settle the Kashmir issue. He informed her that the Indian Government was aware of the attitude of the American and Belgian members on the U.N.C.I.P. and of "disquieting reports which strongly suggest possibility of resumption of hostilities by Pakistan," and clarified that "we have no intention of yielding to pressure from any quarter."

4. Lo Chia-leun was Chinese Ambassador to India at this time.

to, I just could not adopt a policy which was completely against public opinion.

But frankly I do not want to adopt such a policy which has no reason, or logic, or idealism behind it. It is absurd to think that Chiang Kai-shek, with the remnants of the army, unaided by America, can now meet and defeat the Communist forces in China. During the past years, by his stiff-necked policy, he alienated every progressive group. The Communists have won in China not so much by their strength, but by the innumerable mistakes and errors of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang.

The position, therefore, is that we are in no hurry to recognize Communist China,⁵ but we just are not going to stand up as crusaders against it. We shall wait and see what happens.

You wrote to me in a previous letter about the big sums which the Chinese leaders had taken to the U.S. and how they were investing in big property. All this is not very pleasant. The reputation of the Kuomintang leaders in such and like matters is terribly low in China as well as abroad.

What indeed does Madame Chiang expect India to do? We have troubles of our own and they are bad enough. We do not wish to add to them or enter lists in any other country. We have to take facts as they are and the biggest fact of this decade is this continuing Chinese revolution. I am quite convinced that if we stood up for the bankrupt Government in China now, we would be condemned in India and this would give a fillip to communism in India, strange as that sounds. The way to fight communism is not by armies, but by other methods and these methods are psychological as well as the adoption of progressive policies.

I am very sorry for Madame Chiang and I want you to be gentle to her and give her my answer in the best language you can find. But I do not wish to delude her about India's attitude.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. India recognized People's China on 30 December 1949.

2. The Indian Mission at Lhasa¹

I have read Mr Richardson's ² notes³ and the comments of Foreign Secretary⁴ and Secretary-General.⁵

(1) I do not understand how the question of our continuing our mission in Lhasa arises. Of course, we are going to continue it.

(2) We should certainly try to maintain and continue our friendly relations with the Tibetan Government and give them such aid as we have been giving them in the past.

(3) Our representative should recommend social and economic reforms, as suggested by Secretary-General.

(4) We should be very careful in taking any measures which might be considered a challenge to the Chinese Communist Government or which might mean an invasion of Tibetan sovereignty. I do not think that any question arises, at present at least, of our occupying any part of Tibetan territory. That in itself would be a provocation and it would have bad international reactions.

Whatever may be the ultimate fate of Tibet in relation to China, I think there is practically no chance of any military danger to India arising from any possible change in Tibet. Geographically, this is very difficult and practically it would be a foolish adventure. If India is to be influenced or an attempt made to bring pressure on her, Tibet is not the route for it.

1. Note to Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs, 9 July 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Hugh Edward Richardson (b. 1905); entered I.C.S., 1930; British Trade Agent, Gyantse, and Head of British Mission, Lhasa, 1936-40 and 1946-47; Indian Trade Agent, Gyantse and officer-in-charge, Indian Mission, Lhasa, 1947-50; author of *Tibet and its History* (1962) and *A Cultural History of Tibet* (1968).
3. Richardson in his note of 15 June 1949 underlined the importance of Tibet's new status with the Communists taking control of China; thought that Tibetan officials would resist Communists insisting upon any major change; underlined the need for further reforms in Tibet to which less attention was being paid; stated that Tibet would look for support from the Indian Mission specially because the Chinese might suggest that the Indian Mission be wound up; and suggested that India should insist on continuing its mission in Lhasa and continue the supply of arms and material help to Tibet.
4. K.P.S. Menon in his note of 4 July 1949 agreed with Richardson's observations and emphasized the need for the Indian Mission to continue, the arms and ammunition supply by India implemented, and the finding out of "other ways" to "give our moral support to Tibet", and the strengthening of India's northern frontiers.
5. G.S. Bajpai in his note of 6 July 1949 stated that any aid to Tibet should not be taken by Communists as provocation and laid stress on "social and economic reform in Tibet" and "precautionary military measures for the defence of our own frontier."

I do not think there is any necessity at present for our Defence Ministry, or any part of it, to consider possible military repercussions on the Indo-Tibetan frontier. The event is remote and may not arise at all. Any present thought being given to it will affect the balance we are trying to create in India. It may also not remain a secret and that would be unfortunate.

3. Role of Chinese Officials in Lhasa¹

Reference correspondence ending with your cypher telegram No. 55 dated 18th July.

2. We are concerned over the Tibetan Government's decision to turn out all Chinese officials in Lhasa.² These officials were appointed by the National Government of China. Their wholesale expulsion will naturally be regarded as an anti-Chinese rather than anti-Communist move. And the Government of India, by letting them into India without any travel papers in contravention of all passport regulations, will be regarded as privy to this move.

3. We can however understand the desire of the Tibetan Government to get rid of persons suspected of subversive tendencies and officials sympathizing with them. From the Tibetan Government's own point of view it would seem better for them to expel these suspects rather than all Chinese officials in Lhasa. There are many difficulties in the way of the Government of India receiving and looking after these suspects. Nevertheless, in view of our friendly relations with the Tibetan Government, we are considering the possibility of giving them passage. We would be gravely embarrassed if they stayed in India. We shall require advance information of the names and particulars of the persons concerned, some indication of the charges against them, and the place or places to which they will proceed. The Government of India cannot of course undertake any financial liability in this matter.

4. We suggest that unless you or Richardson have any further comments the position of the Government of India should be tactfully explained to the Tibetan Government. The Tibetan Government are the best judges of their own interests

1. Cable to Harishwar Dayal, Political Officer in Sikkim, New Delhi, 26 July 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. It was reported that the Head of Tibetan State Department at Lhasa had cut off the Nationalist Radio Station in Lhasa on 8 July 1949, asked the Nationalist Government's branch office to close down, and ordered all officers to leave.

but to us it would seem unwise on their part to take any steps which in effect mean the forced discontinuance of the Chinese Mission in Lhasa. The objects of the Tibetan Government will be served by expelling the suspects and officials associated with them. If any of the Chinese, left behind, indulge in objectionable activities they can also be similarly dealt with. Such gradual and considered action will appear justified in the eyes of the world, but not the precipitate action now contemplated.

(v) NEPAL

1. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
July 11, 1949

My dear Premier,

Thank you for your letter of the 4th July.² In this you ask me as to what policy you should pursue regarding Nepal. I have already indicated that our policy must be to allow full freedom to any constitutional and peaceful agitation against the Nepalese Government. When such agitation becomes violent or illegal, we should intervene but not before.

No Nepal official should be permitted to make any arrests after crossing the border into Bihar. It does not matter whether the person concerned is a political absconder or even a criminal. It is entirely against international law for any such arrest by a foreign official or police to take place. All that a foreign government can do is to ask for extradition and the normal procedure for extradition should be gone through. In the case of political offences there is no extradition. In this matter there should be no weakening on our side and every single instance of the Nepal officials coming across our country to arrest anyone is a matter to which we can never agree and you must report it to us for such action as we may think proper.

As for the press, it is unfortunate that it should behave in the manner it is

1. File No. 18(53)-NEF/49, M.E.A., N.A.I. Also available in J.N. Collection.
2. In his letter Sinha reported that several meetings on the Bihar side of the Nepal border were being held to express sympathy with the democratic movement in Nepal. "One or two reports of arrest by the Nepal officials of the political absconders on Bihar border have come but in the delicate state of our relationship with Nepal we have not thought it advisable to make much fuss over the matter."

doing.³ We can have no objection to any newspaper agitating for democratic reforms in Nepal. But to suggest that Nepal should be merged into India and should suffer the same fate as the other Indian States is a dangerous line and must be discouraged.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Premier asked Nehru if "any particular policy should be suggested through the Press Advisory Committee to be followed in respect of Nepal affairs" as the press in Bihar had not only been giving publicity to happenings in Nepal but *Searchlight* even suggested that Nepal "would have to share the same fate as other Indian States."

(vi) OTHER COUNTRIES

1. To Louis St Laurent¹

New Delhi
June 30, 1949

My dear Mr St Laurent,²

I hasten to thank you for the very kind invitation that you have extended to me on behalf of the Government and people of Canada to visit the dominion.³ It will give me great pleasure to visit Canada, and I look forward to fitting this in with my trip to your great and friendly neighbour, the U.S.A., next October. The Government and people of India entertain the friendliest feelings towards Canada and her people, and it will be both an honour and a pleasure for me to bring to you all, in person, their greetings. The prospect of seeing you again enhances the pleasure with which I look forward to the visit.

Owing to the exigencies of the American trip and of my official obligations in India, it may not be possible for me to spend many days in Canada. This, I am sure, you will understand. Details can be settled later.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Published in newspapers on 1 July 1949.
2. (1882-1973); lawyer of Quebec; Minister of External Affairs of Canada, 1946-48; Prime Minister, 1948-57.
3. The Canadian Prime Minister invited Nehru to visit Canada later in 1949 while he was in North America. He wished to welcome Nehru as a Prime Minister of a sister nation of the Commonwealth and as a distinguished leader of the people of India.

2. Friendship with Thailand¹

I am glad to learn that *The Standard*² is bringing out a special "Friendship with India" number. I congratulate it on this enterprise and avail myself of this opportunity to send my greetings and good wishes to the people of Thailand.

India and Thailand have been old friends, intimately connected in many ways a thousand years ago and more. At no time in history have they come into conflict with each other, nor has any ill will marred their relationship. During the past few hundred years, however, though we thought of each other in friendly terms, that old intimacy rather faded away. Other influences and forces were at work and Western countries came to Asia and established their political and economic domination in many parts of this great continent. As a result of these developments, the countries of Asia lost touch with each other and the older contacts faded away.

We are now seeing another revolutionary change in Asia. Western domination is rapidly passing away and Asia is coming into her own. In this process we are re-discovering each other and picking up old threads. Just as India has her eyes turned more and more to the other countries of Asia, so also these other countries are re-discovering India.

We were happy to welcome in India the representative of Thailand to the Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi early in 1947. Since then, other contacts have grown and representatives of India and Thailand met and conferred on several occasions. We have exchanged diplomatic representatives and our contacts grow bringing an increasing measure of mutual understanding and goodwill. Trade between the two countries increases.

So the wheel of history has turned a full circle and what was inevitable by the facts of geography, religion, culture and common interest is now coming into evidence again. I trust that this friendship between the two nations will grow to the mutual advantage of both.

1. Message for the special India issue of *The Standard*, 9 July 1949.
2. A journal published at this time from Bangkok.

12

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

VI. Foreign Enclaves in India

(i) FRENCH SETTLEMENTS**1. Future of French Settlements¹**

A three-man French India delegation led by Mr Goubert² and including Karnendra Mudaliar³ and Balasubramaniam Pillai⁴ has left for Paris for discussion⁵ with the French Government regarding the future of the French Settlements should they decide to stay in the French Union. It is reported that on their return they will come to New Delhi for similar discussions.⁶ We have informed them of our willingness to receive them.

2. This delegation was authorised by resolution passed by Municipal Councils for Southern Settlements last March.

3. For your information M. Goubert who is leader of Socialist Party and Minister for General Administration told P.A. Menon couple of months ago that his party would support settlement of French India's future without referendum⁷ by tripartite conference. If Government of India guaranteed autonomy for Settlements for transition period, his party would press for union with India either at tripartite conference or referendum if former was refused by French Government. Mr Pillai, President of Representative Assembly, is a well-meaning man, but not a strong type, and is understood to be one of Goubert's general supporters.

4. Mudaliar, Finance Minister, is most conservative element and would definitely like to continue association with France although he realizes that Settlements must eventually merge with India.

5. It is most important for us to be informed of activities of delegation.

6. You should not repeat not enter into discussion on possibility of giving up referendum. If you are sounded by official quarters please refer matter for instructions.

1. Cable to Indian Embassy, Paris, 15 July 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. Edouard Goubert.

3. Associated with Pondicherry Chamber of Commerce and Minister of Finance and Public Instruction at this time.

4. President of the French India Representative Assembly and member of the Pondicherry Town Municipality at this time.

5. From 13 to 23 July 1949.

6. It was held on 29 and 30 July 1949.

7. It was proposed to hold a referendum in Pondicherry, Yanam, Mahe and Karaikal on 11 December 1949, but it was later postponed.

2. Future Administration of French Possessions¹

Your telegram No. 163 dated 16th July. Government of India having agreed to the referendum do not wish to make any other proposal. They are prepared to consider other methods of settling the future of French possessions but these must be based on these possessions becoming parts of the Indian Union. We have already stated that the status and form of internal administration of these possessions is a matter which we wish to decide in consultation with the people there. We would be prepared for some kind of autonomy and for interim period adjustments, but this autonomy must be within the framework of the Indian Union. We cannot agree to any interregnum between cessation of French authority over settlements and inauguration of new regime.

Any proposals regarding Pondicherry, etc. should not in any way affect transfer of sovereignty over Chandernagore in accordance with result of referendum there.²

You will doubtless make it clear that these views, if you have to express them, are entirely your personal views.

1. Cable to Indian Embassy, Paris, 19 July 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. On 19 June 1949, Chandernagore voted overwhelmingly for union with India. The President of the Chandernagore Administrative Council stated on 7 July that Chandernagore could not wait *ad infinitum* for the transfer of sovereignty.

3. Take-over of Chandernagore¹

Reference our telegram No. 25447 July 7th about taking over of Chandernagore.

2. French Ambassador² has not so far intimated to us date and manner in which his Government would wish Government of India to assume *de facto* control of Chandernagore.

3. Meanwhile at a conference held in New Delhi, it was decided that Chandernagore should be administered by Government of India through Provincial Government as their agent. When *de facto* transfer of power takes place Government of India would appoint an Administrator with concurrence of French Government.

1. Cable to Indian Embassy, Paris, 25 July 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Daniel Levi.

No immediate changes are contemplated in existing administrative system except that police will be placed under an officer deputed from West Bengal.

4. Steady deterioration of law and order has been reported by Chandernagore Administrative Council.³ Council have requested that immediate police assistance should be obtained from West Bengal and there should be collaboration between Chandernagore and West Bengal administrations in controlling law and order. We have telegraphed West Bengal Government for full report on Chandernagore situation.

5. A few days ago French Ambassador assured us: (a) that instructions had been given to Administration Chandernagore to seek cooperation of West Bengal police in cases of emergency, term "emergency" being liberally interpreted, and (b) Ambassador suggested that pending receipt of instructions from French Government, which were shortly expected, cooperation in maintenance of law and order could be best secured by local consultations.

6. We would be grateful if you could explain to French Government present position regarding Chandernagore as outlined in this telegram and our previous telegram on the subject and request them for an immediate indication of their intentions regarding the transfer of authority over Chandernagore. We feel that present situation will lead to serious difficulties and the sooner at least *de facto* transfer takes place the better.

3. Deban Das, President of the Chandernagore Administrative Council, on 22 July 1949 asked for police assistance from West Bengal following violent incidents on 19 and 20 July when municipal sweepers were attacked by unknown persons. It was also reported that M. Tailleux, Administrator of Chandernagore, had asked for extra military forces to be sent from Pondicherry.

4. Meeting with French India Delegation¹

...The Prime Minister stated that he agreed that once French India joins the Indian Union there would be as little local rivalry as possible and to the extent that the good offices of himself and of the Government could be exercised to this end they

1. Minutes recorded by M.R.A. Baig, Consul General, Pondicherry on 30 July 1949 of the discussion with the French India Delegation, New Delhi, 29 July 1949. File No. 15(58) Eur-1/49, M.E.A., N.A.I. Extracts.

would be. He, however, pointed out that some amount of local opposition must always exist.²

In regard to their political demands he pointed out that there were certain difficulties which will have to be carefully examined. There was, for instance, the question of representation at Delhi.³ According to the Constitution one member of the Constituent Assembly was selected for every million voters. Since Pondicherry had only 3,00,000 this naturally created a difficulty. He also pointed out that Mahe and Yanam were very small areas and widely separated. He doubted whether they could exist as separate entities for very long. He, therefore, personally thought that the best course would be to make as little changes as possible for the present in the transition period of 2 or 3 years excepting administrative changes necessary to bring about accession to India. After 2 or 3 years they would then have a clearer picture of the question and the necessary changes could then be made in consultation with the local people.

In regard to the Customs Union⁴ the Prime Minister stated that he agreed that an early decision should be arrived at and that he believed that the matter was at present under consideration. He requested Mr Menon⁵ to go into the matter as early as possible....

2. The leader of the French India Delegation, E. Goubert, said that there was no basic difference, apart from some local issues, between the French India Socialist Party which had control and support in French India and the Congress, as both desired merger of the French possessions with India. He requested the Prime Minister to use his good offices to stop the Tamil Nadu Congress from helping the French India Congress to oppose them needlessly.
3. The French India Delegation desired a representative in the Parliament, at Delhi, in view of the fact that they at present had three representatives at Paris.
4. The delegation complained that the lapse of the war-time Customs Union on 1 April 1949 had led to economic hardships for the people of French India. Under the war-time Customs Union entered in 1941 between India and French Indian authorities, in return for the payment of an annual subsidy to French Indian authorities the latter had handed over customs jurisdiction over the area to the Indian Government. After the lapse of the Customs Union, French India became a foreign territory and a customs cordon was drawn round Pondicherry and Karaikal. The Indian Government, however, allowed movement of essential items and also trade between various communes.
5. P.A. Menon, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

5. Representatives of French Possessions¹

I have had a talk with some of my colleagues regarding the future of these French possessions. It is possible that some kind of a representation in the Central Parliament might be given to them as a separate entity. How this is to be done will have to be worked out. But it is proposed to have a clause in the Constitution giving power to Parliament to deal with Chief Commissioner's Provinces, Centrally Administered Areas and the like, and small autonomous units in this way.

2. You may therefore inform the delegation from French India that we are giving thought to this matter.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, 30 July 1949. File No. 15(58) Eur-I/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.

6. To Kala Venkatarao¹

New Delhi
August 5, 1949

My dear Kala Venkatarao,

I am writing to you about the French possessions in India. We have recently had conversations with representatives of the Socialist Party there and they have expressed themselves in favour of union with India. In view of this, it is not desirable for the Congress Party in Pondicherry to come into conflict with the Socialist Party on this issue.² I hope you will privately advise them accordingly.

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to the Madras Premier.³

You should also advise the Congress Party there to cooperate with our Consul General, Shri Rashid Baig.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 15(58)Eur-I/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. As a preliminary to the referendum for merger with India, the Municipal Council elections in French India were held on 24 October 1948 to ascertain popular feeling. The parties in the fray were the French India National Congress, the French India Socialist Party and the Progressive Democratic Party, including the Communists. The elections intensified the tension already persisting in Pondicherry and led to innumerable conflicts and vilifications between the Congress and the Socialist Party there.
3. See the next item.

7. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja¹

New Delhi
August 5, 1949

My dear Premier,

I am writing to you about the French possessions in India, more especially Pondicherry. As you must know, we have recently had a deputation from the Socialist Party of Pondicherry, etc. That Party has in the past been rather an official party inclining towards the French Government and Union with France. The fact remains however that they are the dominant party in Pondicherry, etc. They have now realized that it is to the advantage of Pondicherry to join the Indian Union. We have had long talks with them and the position has been cleared up.

In view of this change in their attitude and their desire to join the Indian Union, it is desirable to avoid the internal conflicts that have been taking place between the Congress Party and the Socialist Party in Pondicherry. Your predecessor Premier² in Madras made a number of statements in criticism of what was happening in Pondicherry. I suggest that no such statements be made by representatives and if anything has to be said, we should be informed of it and we shall take necessary action. For the present I would request you to exercise your influence to prevent conflicts in Pondicherry between rival groups, at any rate, between the Congress Party there and the Socialist Party. It is open of course to the Congress Party to express itself positively in favour of union.

The Communist Party of Pondicherry will probably give trouble. But that can be ignored in the present context, when the Socialist Party will stand for union with India.

I might also mention that our Consul General in Pondicherry, Shri Rashid Baig, has done good work for us there. Criticisms made about his work in the past have proceeded on some misunderstanding.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 15(58)Eur-I/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. T. Prakasam.

(ii) PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS**1. Customs Union with Goa¹**

The Deputy Minister in his note suggests that we might take up economic issues between Goa and India and more especially a customs and economic union.² This might be investigated. I am not clear in my mind whether it is desirable for us to suggest a union. I doubt if it will take place. Our suggesting it in a sense means our stabilizing the present position and making it appear that we have given up any political move. They may well have a bad effect on the population.

Sometime ago it was suggested that we might go ahead on the economic plane by having a branch of an Indian bank opened there. This was referred to the Finance Ministry and perhaps the Reserve Bank. They were not at first in favour of it, but later promised to reconsider the matter. You might find out what has been done. Various other economic steps were suggested at one time by our Consul, Baig.³ These might also be looked up and reconsidered.

For the present we should go ahead on the ecclesiastical plane.⁴

1. Note to the Secretary-General, 24 June, 1949. File No. 19(82)-Eur I/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I. Also available in J.N. Collection.
2. B.V. Keskar, in his note of 22 June 1949, suggested that as the political movement in Goa had waned, a new issue, namely a customs and economic union between Goa and India, might be taken up and this might ultimately help in furthering the political solution.
3. Mirza Rashid Ali Baig.
4. According to a concordat between the Vatican and Portugal, the latter used to nominate Bishops to be appointed in India, by which the entire Roman Catholic clergy in India was under the administrative control of the Archbishop of Goa. For the reasons that the concord could not bind India, the Indian Government opened negotiations with the Vatican and Portugal to put an end to this anomaly.

2. The Political Situation in Goa¹

I have read this report of two army officers about Goa.² It has not impressed me very much, nor have I found any satisfaction in the reading of it. It gives some information about the military and the police. It is clear that this is in excess of normal requirements.

It is well known that there is no political movement at the present moment in Goa and consequently no repression. But it is also well known that a considerable number of leaders were sentenced years ago to savage terms of imprisonment and deported to Portuguese Africa for the most trivial of offences or sometimes no offence at all. They are still there.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, 24 June 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. The report discussed the presence of a large number of troops in Goa to suppress political activities or for use as a repressive force in a police state. But there was no indication of unusual army activities to suggest that the Portuguese in Goa were in a position to attack India.

12

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

VII. General

1. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
June 24, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I have not heard from you for a long time, although I have written to you. I think I hinted in one or two of my recent letters that I was having rather a thin time here. So many things seem to go wrong that only some kind of inner faith keeps one going. Yet in spite of all this, there is that faith and so one survives.

Sometime or other, in the not distant future, I should like you to come here to talk about various matters. There are so many things I should like to discuss with you. I would not ask you to come now because the heat here has been pretty bad. But next month the rains may come and make some difference at least. As you perhaps know, I am going for a few days to Ladakh early next month. This is a brief visit and I shall be away just for a week, most of it spent in travelling. But I am greatly looking forward to this, because I shall be above 11,000 feet most of the time and far away from the problems that worry me continuously.

I sent you a telegram about Hyderabad² and the death sentence passed on some people there. I saw your reply today. In this you mentioned the firing that had taken place in Calcutta some two months back, in which some women were killed. It was a bad show, although most of the women killed were not from the police firing but from the bursting of bombs thrown by some people from the public. Later there was firing on two occasions inside the Calcutta prisons.³ Each occasion, when analysed, might go to show that firing was inevitable in the circumstances, because organized attempts were made with weapons and sometimes with bombs. It is difficult for the police to look on, when they are being bombed or otherwise attacked. There is no doubt that there is a regular campaign of creating such incidents by violent attacks. The use of bombs and acid has become fairly common. Nevertheless the fact remains that a government is responsible for such happenings and it has failed, if it has to resort to firing frequently. I have no doubt that the Bengal Government has mismanaged this business very greatly. I am very unhappy about all this.

You sent a telegram sometime ago about Atal⁴ and that he was in a state of nervous breakdown or something like it. Our Brazil Embassy has been a perfect nightmare. For the moment I shall not apportion the blame. But in the result there

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See *ante*, Section 9, sub-section VI, item 1.

3. Communist prisoners detained under the West Bengal Security Act had caused riots at the Presidency Jail, Calcutta, on 8 June and at Alipore and Dum Dum jails on 9 June 1949. The warders and police opened fire killing three.

4. Jai Kumar Atal was the First Secretary at Rio de Janeiro at this time.

was a complete failure all around and a perfect mess. In a sense the head⁵ of the mission must be held responsible. He is clearly not fit for such a charge.

A few days ago Masani held forth at the Human Rights Commission at Lake Success and made many offensive remarks about the treatment of minorities, and especially Muslims, in Soviet Russia.⁶ We were very much put out by these totally uncalled for remarks creating ill will for us. We have conveyed our disapproval to him, but the thing has been done. I now hear that the Human Rights Commission have elected Masani for another period of three years. I do not quite know what we can do about it, because the choice is theirs and not ours. Nevertheless we have asked B.N. Rau to make it clear to the U.N. people that Masani should not be considered to represent us in anyway.

I see that Masani is going to London and will spend sometime there. It is open to him to do so, as he is no longer in our service. I am rather afraid that with his anti-Soviet mania he might continue to say the wrong thing in London and thus embarrass us still more. All we can do is to tell him what we think about it and we have done so.

I hope you are keeping well. Dr Matthai will be going to London in about a week's time. I should like you to have good talks with him about the general economic situation and other matters.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. M.R. Masani resigned from the foreign service on 20 May 1949.
6. At the session of U.N. Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination against Minorities on 16 and 17 June 1949, Masani challenged the Soviet delegate's claim that there was no discrimination against the minorities in the Soviet Union and cited an article in the *New York Times* of 16 June 1949 which reported an anti-Semitic campaign in the U.S.S.R., and deportation of professors of Muslim theology to Siberia or their being forced into hiding, and asked the Commission to hold an investigation into the report.

2. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi

July 1, 1949

My dear Krishna,

B.N. Rau gave me today two letters from you, one dated the 16th June² and the other 29th June.³

I have written to you several times about Dutt's report and your reactions to it. I can hardly add anything to it. You will forgive me if I say that this whole business does not appear to me of any very great importance. It is one matter among many, which we will have to deal with. I am unable myself to pass any judgement on Dutt's report. I read it once rather hurriedly and then put it by, waiting for the comments which you and your advisers were going to send. It was my intention to read it more thoroughly then, so that I could have the benefit to your comments. Thus far nothing has been done about it, as we have been waiting for your comments. Very few people have seen it, so far as I know. It is possible that Dutt has made mistakes and that his report contains inaccuracies, as you say. That can always happen. But I have found him to be a very conscientious and quiet officer. Even conscientious people may have their own way of looking at this which may be different from other people's ways. There is nothing surprising about that and it happens daily.

I might tell you that Dutt was very reluctant to go to London and it was only after some pressure that he agreed to do so. What the final decisions might be on his report or otherwise about India House, I cannot say, because I have not applied my mind to it, till I have all the facts and comments. What I have tried to point out to you previously is that, in spite of any disagreements that may have occurred, I do not think there is any desire to discredit or find fault. There may be an official way of looking at things, which is different from a public man's way.

I do not quite know what 'sanctions' you refer to. I do not think this has anything to do with Dutt's report. Lately, because of dollar and sterling difficulties, we have issued instructions to all our ministries and departments to be extra careful in spending foreign exchange. We are trying to reduce people travelling abroad to a minimum. Perhaps what you refer to has something to do with this. This had

1. V.K. Krishna Menon papers, N.M.M.L.
2. In his letter of 16 June 1949 Krishna Menon said that Subimal Dutt's visit to Britain had created a regrettable state of affairs in India House and that his "report was based on popular generalizations made without reference to the large quantity of material made available to him" which made it factually incorrect.
3. In his letter of 29 June 1949 Krishna Menon regretted that he had "become ill-adapted to the post" which would cause Nehru "more worry and dismay than anything else." He also said that Dutt's report contained two paragraphs which were a reflection on his character and integrity.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

nothing to do with India House, but was a kind of general direction issued to ministries.

The kind of malicious and even obscene writings and attacks that many of us have to put up with from day to day here would surprise you. The recent Calcutta election struck a new level in this business and this is continuing. Many of our periodicals indulge in a language which shames me. It may be that this is a reaction to something or a result of frustration or something else. Whatever it is, it is not pleasant.

The whole position is a very odd one. In the course of this month we have to come to some rather vital decisions about the future, perhaps involving ourselves.

Conditions here are peculiarly fluid. Of course there is nobody and no group that can take our place, and yet we grow stale and the mere fact that we appear immovable annoys and irritates many people. It would be a good thing, if they were given a chance to have some other people. Whether they will take their chance or not, it is for them to decide. But anyhow this will clear up the atmosphere.

I have written this in some haste, as you know I am off to Ladakh. I hope to come back by the 9th, but there is always a possibility of being held up somewhere in the mountains owing to the weather.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. India's Candidature for the Security Council¹

Your telegram No. 543 dated 30th June.² India's candidature for the Security Council.

2. We note that Dean Acheson, while non-committal, was not unfavourable. You have clearly impressed on him the strength of India's claim to be in the Security Council against the background of current developments in Asia.

3. The replies we have received are generally in favour of our candidature for

1. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit, New Delhi, 2 July 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. In her cable Vijayalakshmi reported that she had explained to Acheson India's claim to membership of the Security Council and asked if India could expect U.S. support. Acheson replied that he could not commit his Government's stand so far ahead.

the Security Council.³ We feel that no efforts should be spared in securing support for it.

4. We are surprised to learn that the U.K. is thinking of supporting New Zealand. Our relations with New Zealand are of the friendliest and we appreciate New Zealand's contribution to the United Nations in various spheres. Yet, whichever criteria you adopt—geographical position, resources, contribution in two world wars or responsibility for maintaining world peace—New Zealand can have no prior claim for a seat in the Security Council.

5. The only obstacle in our way may be the Kashmir dispute and Secretary General has already informed you that the obstacle may prove serious. But we all agree that we should make every effort to get on to the Council. You should have no difficulty in showing that we have strained every nerve for a peaceful solution in Kashmir, and have whole-heartedly cooperated with the U.N. Commission to the maximum practicable extent. The fact that a country is engaged in an international disputes can be no bar to its election to the Security Council. Egypt was twice elected to the Council while Palestine was still a burning issue. Nor can it be said that the permanent members of the Security Council have no disputes among themselves.

3. India was elected as a non-permanent member of the Security Council on 20 October 1949.

4. Importance of the North East Frontier¹

I agree generally with the conclusions in this note.² Those conclusions do not necessitate any further action by the Cabinet. Nevertheless, it is desirable that this note be put up before the Cabinet for their consideration and information. Dr Kesar, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs, has rightly emphasized the new importance of India's North East Frontier. If people do not realize this, they are apt to consider it just as an outlying post of little importance. It is desirable, therefore, that attention should be drawn to this Frontier and to the necessity of our developing it.

These papers might be placed before the Cabinet.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 25 July 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. In his note Kesar underlined the growing importance of the North East Frontier Area and suggested conversion of existing fair-weather roads into all-weather roads, construction of bridle paths to connect various distant outposts, opening of administrative centres, reorganization of Assam Rifles' outposts, creation of a Frontier Service, and aerial and anthropological survey of N.E.F.A.

5. To K.C. Neogy¹

New Delhi
July 26, 1949

My dear Neogy,

A few days ago I was told by our Foreign Secretary that you had recommended Chettur's² appointment as Consul General in San Francisco taking the place of Kirpalani³ who is going to Ottawa. I asked who Chettur was and then said in this matter Commerce Ministry's views should normally prevail and I had nothing further to say.

Yesterday or the day before we received a telegram from our Ambassador in Washington which you probably have seen. In this telegram it was stated that Chettur's appointment in San Francisco would be unsuitable as the Indian population there largely consisted of Sikhs who were almost ignorant even of English. It would be difficult for a non-Hindustani knowing person to get on with them. They are a peculiar crowd who have kept to their customs and language in spite of being surrounded on all sides by America. Our Ambassador, therefore, thought that someone should be appointed in San Francisco who would be more in tune with the Sikh colony there.

It was rather unfortunate that any steps should be taken without previous consultation with the Ambassador. The Ambassador, of course, has no final say in the matter. But, nevertheless, the Ambassador being the chief representative of the country has a large say in the matter.

Another factor has been brought to my notice. There is a growing and very considerable revolt at appointments abroad of South Indians and more especially Malabar. I have paid no attention whatever to the place of origin or province of a person. Indeed I have little to do with appointments except of the ambassadors and the like. My practice is to give a great deal of responsibility to those who are working with me. So I have seldom interfered with any appointment. But the fact is that in External Affairs a very large number of persons have been appointed abroad as well as here in our office from South India and specially from Malabar. Members of the Assembly have been grumbling about this and a deputation from some pressmen privately came to protest. They had collected facts and figures showing this great preponderance of Malabar in foreign appointments either by External Affairs or in conjunction with the Commerce Ministry. In fact, some of the facts collected by them rather surprised me as I did not know this picture myself.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. K.K. Chettur (b. 1901); joined Government of India, 1925; held various posts in the Central Board of Revenue, and Ministries of Finance and Commerce; Ambassador to Japan, 1952.

3. S.K. Kirpalani was appointed High Commissioner to Canada on 13 July 1949.

They had heard of the possible appointment of Chettur and this was another item in their indictment. They imputed all kinds of motives. I do not think they were justified in this at all. But it possibly does happen that there is a certain unconscious bias in favour of persons of one's own province or those one knows. The fact remains that the small area of Malabar has provided a completely disproportionate number of officers both in the Government of India in Delhi and for our foreign missions. Personally I have little complaint because many of them are very good and competent. But I can well understand a certain public feeling and resentment about this.

I think these factors should be borne in mind in regard to future appointments. We have naturally to avoid anything that creates suspicion in the minds of the public, the Assembly and the press and which suspicion they can justify.

You know probably that repeated complaints are made that the Food and Agriculture Ministries have been filled with Sindhis; that Industry and Supply has had Bengalis pushed into it. A similar complaint is made about External Affairs in regard to Malabar. This could not apply to me because I am not a Malabari or interested in any particular province. Because of that there was some restraint thus far in giving publicity to this complaint. But matters have reached such a pitch now that there is likely to be some kind of a public bust-up and open criticism.

In view of all these factors I think we should go a little slow in making appointments of this type in External Affairs, etc. Also because of our ambassador's views in regard to Chettur's appointment in San Francisco, I think we should reconsider this matter immediately before any further step is taken.

I have written to you frankly about this matter as I know you will appreciate this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To K.C. Neogy¹

New Delhi
July 30, 1949

My dear Neogy,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th.²

1. File No. 2(19)/FSP/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. Neogy wrote that it was practical to appoint K.K. Chettur as the Consul General at San Francisco in place of Kirpalani as he had "up to date knowledge of our commerce policy," and disagreed with Indian Ambassador's suggestion that an I.C.S. officer with a good knowledge of the Hindustani language would be more suitable.

The Consul General has, of course, to deal with trade and commerce. But he has to deal with political and other matters also. In California and in San Francisco the situation of the Sikhs there is of extreme complexity and difficulty. They are the largest Indian population in the U.S. It is very natural for you to presume that they must know some English. Oddly enough they do not, difficult as this is to believe. Bajpai has been there and knows about them. Vijayalakshmi gave me an extraordinary account of them. These are the people who formed the Ghadar Party in the past and they have been difficult to handle. Hence it is an important consideration that a man who is sent there as our Consul General should be able to understand them thoroughly and gently lead them in the right direction. This is not merely a question of knowing the language a little but rather of getting at the back of their minds and making them feel that there is someone there who is one of them and can understand them.

Quite apart from the present question that has arisen, I have been thinking about these Sikhs in California for sometime past and trying to find a way to deal with them and to help them. Living in the U.S., they are completely out of tune with it and have got a farming colony where they live almost in isolated existence of their own.

I confess I am not at all happy at this appointment for the reasons I have mentioned here and in my previous letter. But I have no alternative to offer for the present and I do not wish to come in the way of your decision. But we shall have to keep the situation in view and see how far this appointment is a successful one from every point of view.

It is a well recognized convention, to which I have drawn attention previously, that no appointment should be made without consulting the head of the mission abroad which is concerned with that appointment.³ In spite of this convention such appointments had sometimes been made. We are now making this a rule. Indeed no transfers should be made either without consulting the head of the mission.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Neogy wrote in his letter that "as regards the procedure for consulting an Ambassador before filling up such posts the matter is really for the External Affairs Ministry to consider."
4. Ultimately, Chettur was appointed.

7. To D.B. Desai¹

New Delhi
August 7, 1949

My dear Dhiru,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th July and the two reports which I have read with interest.

We all realize that the Vatican represents a great influence which is used for good as well as for reactionary purposes. It is because we recognize the great influence of the Vatican that we decided to have a representative there. We deal with it in other ways in India too through their representatives here. There is no question, therefore, of our ignoring the Vatican.

Your speech² was disliked by me for two reasons. It was loose in structure and blatant and ornate and flamboyant. State documents should be restrained. Secondly, the comparison with the *Gita* seemed to me rather uncalled for and certainly not likely to be appreciated by the Indian public. As a matter of fact, there was quite a good deal of critical newspaper comments³ on it, sometimes in fairly strong language.

When I first saw the draft of your speech, I did not like it and I asked if it could be stopped. I was told that it had already been sent to the Vatican and it seemed too late to take any step then. That is unfortunate, as all such speeches should previously be sent here. Later when newspaper comments began to come in, I suggested to K.P.S. Menon to write to you on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Desai recounting close relations between the Holy See and the Indian people, said that the new Indian State was created by the sacrifice of our people and "guided by one who in his own way lived according to the message of Christ" and "like him we have come to believe 'what does it matter if all the copies of the *Bhagavad Gita* are destroyed so long as I can turn to the Sermon on the Mount'."

3. The editorial of *The Hindu* on 9 July 1949 criticized Desai's speech, particularly his remark that "Gandhi lived according to the message of Christ" as "irrelevant coming from one who is not a Christian and who, too, was specially as the representative of a Government, engaged in a political capacity" and doubted if Gandhiji said about the *Gita* "what Desai said or meant" and certainly not "as Mr Desai complacently suggests, that if he had the Sermon on the Mount he could cheerfully let the *Gita* go."

8. War and Peace¹

Question: Why is mankind periodically paralysed with wars and why do people patiently and laboriously go on working for the happiness of mankind and then suddenly switch over to destruction?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are certain deeper causes of the present malaise. With all the best and most magnificent efforts, there appears to be something which is choked. There is some obstruction to progress by means of war. Nations, or a group of nations, are blamed but the question is how to get over it. In my lifetime there were two world wars and it is odd that the same thing happened all over again. People worked hard to construct and build, and again they worked for complete destruction. It looks as if the bottom is often knocked out and something has to be done to fix it up securely.

Eleven years ago I was in Geneva which was the centre of some 135 world organizations. A crisis over Czechoslovakia was brewing and mobilization was in the air. But the League of Nations which was in session then discussed everything else except the crisis, and the 135 world organizations did not know what to do. It is surprising how suddenly mankind was seized with paralysis, and periodically frightening prospects cast a grim shadow. We must try to get over it.

Q: How is it that during wars people respond to the call of their respective governments and work hard while in peace they expect more from the State?

JN: I would say that the problem is more of a psychological character.

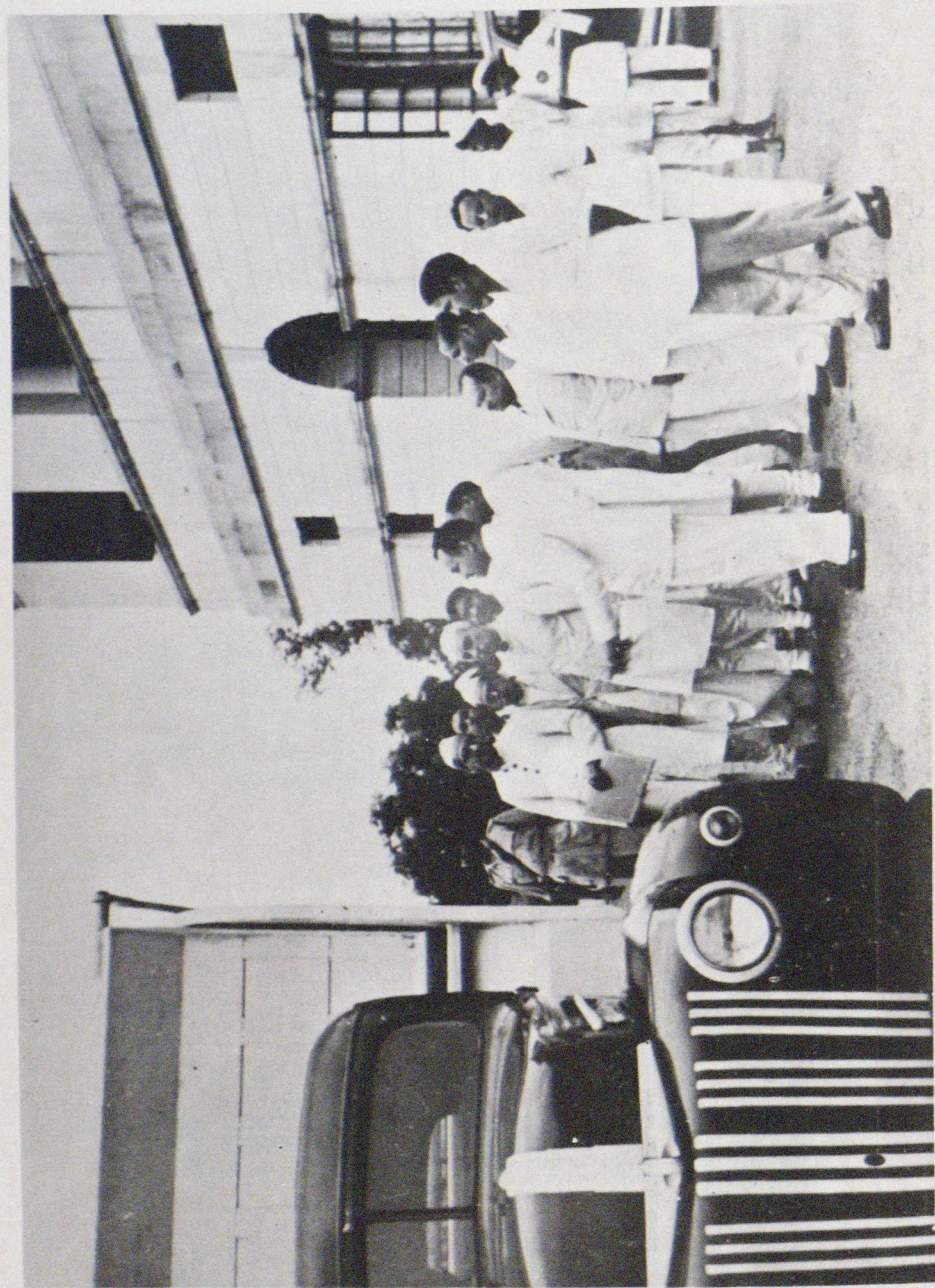
Q: Why is it that Indian leadership did not foresee the effects of partition before accepting the same? As Prime Minister do you think India can overcome this burden of partition?

JN: The emergence of Pakistan was followed by a tremendous upheaval in northern India. There were huge migrations and there were massacres too. Three years ago I could not have believed and indeed none could believe that such things could be possible in India. Despite his faults, generally speaking, an Indian is a gentleman and yet he behaved like a wild animal on this occasion.

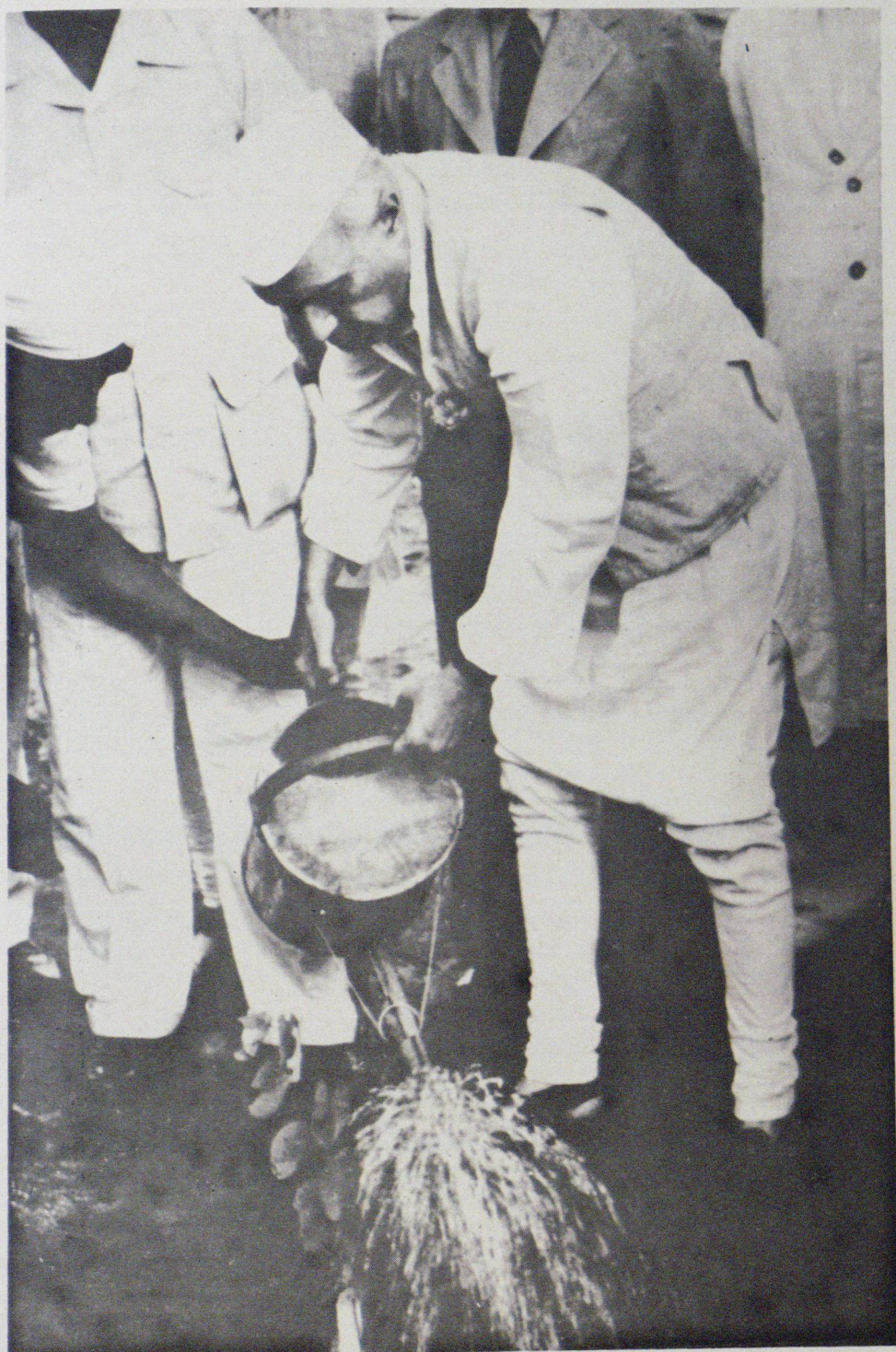
1. Informal discussion with the members of the American Town Meeting Incorporation at his residence, New Delhi, 13 August 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. and from the *National Herald*, and *The Hindustan Times*, 14 August 1949.



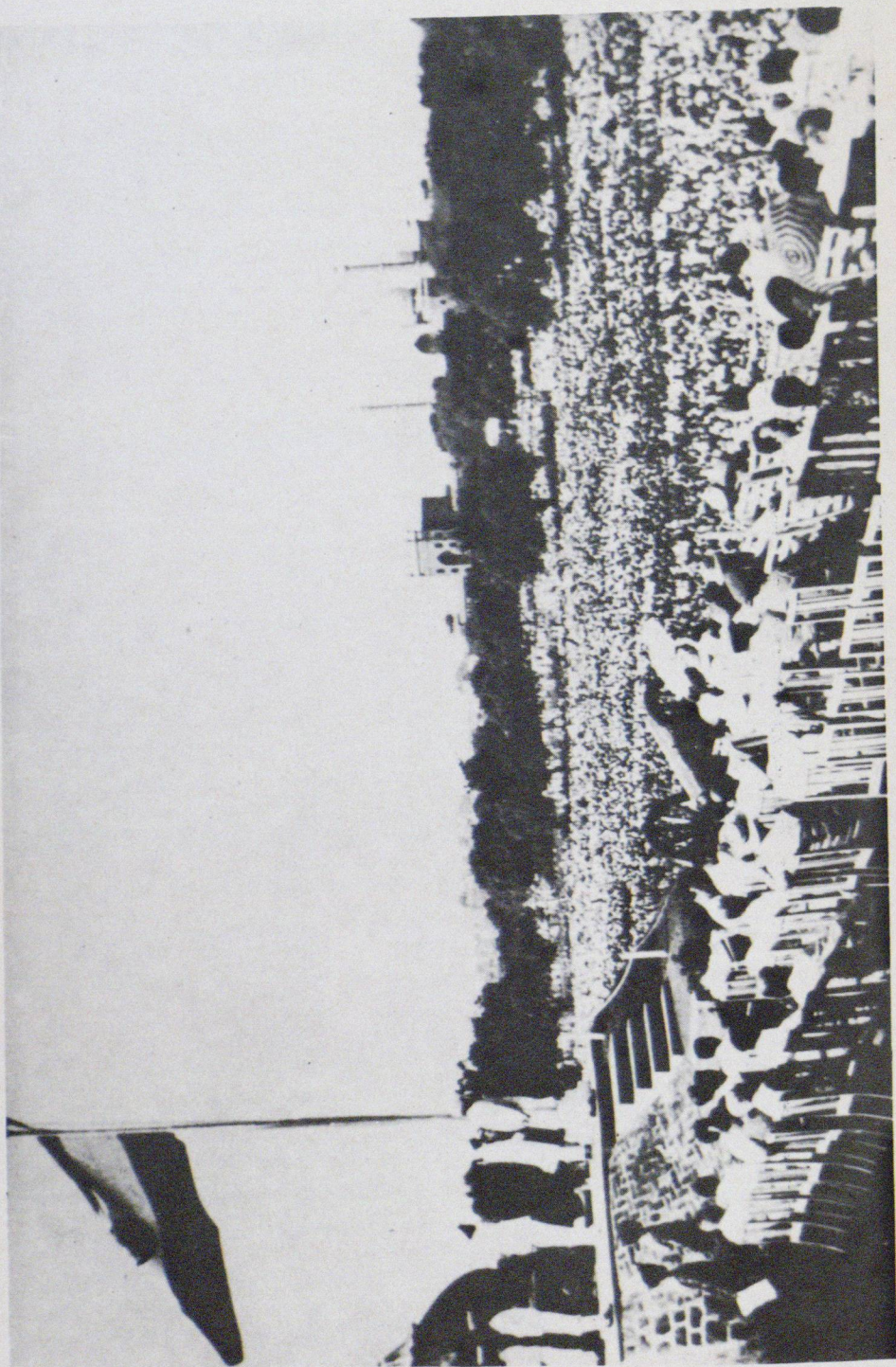
AT A RECEPTION OF AMERICAN TOWN HALL INCORPORATION OF NEW YORK,
NEW DELHI, 13 AUGUST 1949



RECEIVING A MEXICAN MOBILE GARBAGE COLLECTOR, NEW DELHI, 14 AUGUST 1949



AT RAJGHAT, NEW DELHI, 15 AUGUST 1949



ADDRESS FROM THE RED FORT, DELHI, 15 AUGUST 1949

You should try to appreciate the magnitude of the refugee problem. Six million of them have to be rehabilitated. The trouble, however, is restricted to the rehabilitation of the urban refugees, petty shopkeepers and the like.

I have my abounding faith in India. For years now, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, we have carried on a struggle based on nonviolence for securing national freedom.

Geographically India is so situated that she holds a pivotal position. India's reserves, in human material and natural resources, are so great that her potentialities are vast indeed. But the problem is how to harness them. Progress in the present is dependent upon many factors and the chief among that is technical skill. India requires capital goods and machinery and without that her progress will be slow.

Q: To what extent is the principle of nonviolence followed by you in your application to the foreign policy of India?

JN: The basic policy of nonviolence may help us. Logically and practically speaking, the theory of nonviolence carried to its extreme would mean no police or army. I cannot say if a country can be brave enough to do so, but I am not prepared to rule out its possibility. However, one essential ingredient is that a high code of human conduct should prevail.

Q: What do you have to say about India's relations with her neighbours—in particular with Pakistan?

JN: I would like to stress that there is a need for better understanding among Asian countries. I believe in Asian unity, an alliance not against any country or power but a union for the economic betterment of the Asian countries.

Q: What about a Marshall Aid Plan for Asia?

JN: It will be a good thing to have a Marshall Plan for Asia and to increase the standard of the people of the East. But Asia looks to the West with suspicion because of the past. And even now the case of Indonesia illustrates my point. Europe is still carrying on her colonial tradition.

As far as I know, no official approach has been made for any aid though prominent people did refer to this subject. I would say that the Western approach towards Asian problems is an adolescent approach and it is time the West realized the spiritual maturity of the East.

Q: There are few countries which have been assisting nations in need.

JN: I do appreciate the good motive of the West and in particular of America.

Q: Has India a message to the world?

JN: It would be presumptuous to talk of a message. A country can give something only if other countries are of a receptive mind.

ART, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

1. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
June 22, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st June forwarding me Umrao Singh Sher-Gil's² letter. Umrao Singh's daughter Amrita, was a very talented artist. She died under tragic circumstances.³ Her death upset her parents very much.

Her paintings are valuable. We would have gladly taken them for nothing. But her husband⁴ (with whom few people have any sympathy and who is a Hungarian) refuses to part with them, without payment. I suggested to the Education Ministry, therefore, to acquire them. I do not quite know what happened subsequently. I think Rs 50,000 for the lot of them is not too great a price. They are worth more in the market, if sold separately.

The parents also have a number of her paintings. We would of course gladly take them.

I have no sympathy for Amrita's husband. But what am I to do since the law happens to be on his side?

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 40(7)/48-PMS.
2. (1870-1954); member of a Sikh family of Amritsar, who had settled in Saraya, Gorakhpur; landlord and scholar in Sanskrit and Persian.
3. On 5 December 1941.
4. Victor Egan.

2. To Umrao Singh Sher-Gil¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1949

My dear Sardar Umrao Singh,

The Governor-General has sent me a copy of your letter dated the 22nd June which you wrote to him.

I quite appreciate your feelings in this matter. As I told you, when I met you, it is our desire to collect Amrita's paintings and keep them in the National

1. File No. 40(7)/48-PMS.

Museum.² It would be a great pity if they were distributed and if some of them went out of the country. I have no sympathy for her husband, but we cannot ignore the law. Therefore, I suggested to our Education Ministry to acquire such of her paintings as were in his possession. I am not quite sure how far this matter has gone.

We would greatly welcome, of course, to add to this collection the valuable paintings of your daughter which you have. Amrita's paintings are a legacy for the nation and we want to treat them as such.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. These paintings are now exhibited at the National Gallery of Modern Art in New Delhi.

3. The Film *Meera*¹

The film *Meera*² in which Subbulakshmi³ appears and sings was greatly appreciated by some of the foreign ambassadors whom I invited to see it last year. In particular the Belgian Ambassador⁴ was anxious to take a copy to Belgium.

2. In spite of this fact the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting have come to the conclusion that it is not suited for foreign audiences. I am inclined to disagree with them entirely. It will certainly be an unusual affair to foreign audiences; some may like it and some may not. On the whole I think it will create a great deal of interest. Anyhow the fact remains that the Belgian Ambassador has repeatedly asked me for it. In view of this I do not understand why the Ministry of Information should be reluctant to use it. Could you please bring these facts to their notice?

3. I do not know anything about an exhibition of Indian cultural films in Belgium. If there is such an exhibition, then obviously the necessity for sending *Meera* is still more patent.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 30 June 1949. File No. 43(52)/48-PMS.
2. Produced by Shivanand Films, Madras in 1947.
3. M.S. Subbulakshmi (b.1916); well known singer of Carnatic music; recipient of many national and international awards including the Padma Vibhushan.
4. Prince de Ligne.

4. Will you please find out from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting about this and then write to Shri Sadasivam?⁵

5. T. Sadasivam (b.1912), husband of M.S. Subbulakshmi.

4. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi

July 1, 1949

My dear Kher,

I have been wanting to write to you for sometime past about a small matter, but something which seems to me of great significance. It is common talk here, in which even the diplomats indulge, that the Bombay Government disapproved of some small part of the *Hamlet* film and had it cut out. If this is so, it is rather a serious matter. If the Bombay Government is going to censor Shakespeare, then the world takes notice of the Bombay Government and I am afraid this notice will not be favourable. To censor classical writers of the eminence of Shakespeare is something which is difficult to swallow. The *Hamlet* film has travelled round the world and even I saw it in Delhi together with a large number of diplomats. The people taking part in that film are some of the most famous of British actors. If nobody in the wide world took exception to the film, except the Bombay Government, then it is obvious that the Bombay Government thinks of such matters in a way which is entirely different from that of others.

I shall be grateful if you will let me know what the facts are.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

5. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi

July 24, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Ali Yavar Jung saw me this evening and spoke to me about the Osmania University. You will remember that on my return from Hyderabad last year² I mentioned this

1. File No. 40(54)/56-PMS.

2. Nehru visited Hyderabad from 24 to 26 December 1948.

matter to you. Ali Yavar was anxious that the University should come directly under the Government of India. I liked the idea for a variety of reasons. I am afraid that if this is not done, the Osmania University will deteriorate very rapidly under any new regime that might be set up in Hyderabad. There will be continuous quarrels among the representatives of the various linguistic regions that constitute Hyderabad.

The University is a very fine institution and it would be a great pity if it was allowed to go to pieces. Apart from this, it does seem a good idea to have a University based on the national language in the South, where education will progressively be given more and more in the local languages. If the Osmania University was not there, it would be desirable to create some such national institution based on our national language.

Ali Yavar Jung is anxious that this change-over should take place as rapidly as possible. If there is delay, other considerations might come in and the University might get entangled in local conflicts. Ali Yavar has discussed this matter with Choudhuri³ and I believe, with V.P. Menon. He has been taking all kinds of steps during the past few months to make the University self-contained and to put an end to the various functions which the Hyderabad Government exercise there through its different departments. So it is now an autonomous body and is in a position to decide for itself.

The question of an endowment comes up because otherwise it would not be possible for the Government of India to undertake this heavy burden. Ali Yavar has somewhat reduced the expenditure and brought it down to 50 lakhs a year. It is calculated that an endowment fund from 12 to 15 crores is necessary.

A suggestion was made that this or some part of it might come out of the Hyderabad securities which Pakistan took and which were subsequently cancelled by us. I do not myself see any legal or other objection to this course. It would certainly be welcomed by the people in Hyderabad as well as other parts of India. Probably even internationally it would be approved.

Ali Yavar thinks that it might be possible, if you and I send a fairly strong message to the Nizam through Choudhuri, to get the Nizam to part with five crores out of his hoarded wealth for the University. If, in addition, 10 crores come out of the old securities, this would give a corpus of 15 crores which should be ample to carry on the University fairly efficiently. Of course if any additions are made in future, this might cost a little more. No doubt the Hyderabad Government would help in future to some extent also.

At first I thought that this change-over could not easily take place before accession. But now I feel that this delay would be bad and there is no legal or constitutional barrier to the University coming directly under the Government of India before accession. This would be done by a free vote of the University's

3. General J.N. Choudhuri.

Governing Body and by consent of the Nizam, who is a patron. The Hyderabad Government would also approve of this. If we then agree to take it over, there appears to be no possibility of any valid criticism, and a good act would have been done. I understand that everything on the University's side, in preparation for such a move, will be completed within two weeks or so. If we are ready, then the change-over can take place within the next month.⁴ The University would remain of course an autonomous body, but will function under the Government of India.

Choudhuri is coming here soon and the matter might be discussed with him.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. Till 1947, the Osmania University, set up on 5 October 1918 had no autonomy and was a limb of the Government. But in 1947 it became a largely autonomous institute with a revised charter. Later in 1959, the revised charter was replaced by an Act of the Andhra Pradesh Legislature. This Act was subsequently amended in 1965 and 1966.

6. To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai¹

New Delhi
August 3, 1949

My dear Rafi,

Your letter of July 31st. I do not know anything about this matter and it is possible that our Education Ministry or our Finance Ministry are to blame. But my reaction from reading your letter is that the Benaras Hindu University is completely inefficient and in more or less a bankrupt condition. A university which has to wait for every bit of a grant to put up a roof is in a pretty bad way. It is up to them to complete the building and then argue about the rest of the grant. I am myself inclined to stop all grants in future to these universities which waste so much money. They seem to be incapable of doing anything themselves except to spend money, and to wait for grants. I understand that we are having a financial enquiry into the affairs of the Hindu University.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

7. To Vincent Sheean¹

New Delhi
August 7, 1949

My dear Sheean,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th July and also for your new book,² which I am reading with great interest.

As for your leaflet about the Gandhi Scholarships, I am afraid it is not factually correct. It is far out indeed insofar as the position of untouchables is concerned. In law today they cannot be kept out from any place by reason of untouchability, whether it is a well, a school or any other place. It is a criminal offence. In practice also untouchability has largely disappeared, except in some places in the South.

I shall gladly meet you or dine with you and other friends during my visit to America. My programme is in the hands of my sister.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. *Lead Kindly Light* (Random House, 1949), a personal record of Sheean's spiritual search and suggestions for the world's salvation. Its theme is the answer which traditional Hindu philosophy, especially as taught by Mahatma Gandhi, offers to this quest.

8. Manual Labour in Education¹

The National Planning Committee recommended some years ago that no diploma or degree should be granted in education unless the candidate had qualified himself for it by doing some manual or technical work for a period. That is to say a matriculation student, in addition to passing the examination, should be required to do some kind of work for six months, in field, factory, office or elsewhere. So also a person graduating must produce a certificate of work done, apart from his literary studies.

1. Note to the Ministry of Education, 7 August 1949. File No. 40(81)/49-PMS.

This is a novel idea no doubt in India. But something like it is being tried, I believe, in other countries. From the educational point of view, it will undoubtedly do good to the students. From the social point of view, it is even more important. In view of the vast number of unemployed graduates, etc. that we have, it is particularly necessary for us to consider some way of dealing with these graduates, etc. who are incapable of any work except some kind of office work. There is a definite reluctance to do manual work, even though that work may bring in a higher income. This is noticeable all over India, but more especially, in Bengal where middle class unemployment has grown terribly.

I suppose the Universities Commission has considered some aspects of this problem and we shall soon get their report. But whatever their report may be, I should like the Education Ministry to consider specially this question of insisting on some type of manual work before a degree is given. This should have a powerful effect on the mentality of our people and make them respect manual labour. It will bring out a certain discipline in them, which is so lacking today. These students will be used in some public work, under trained leadership. It may be difficult suddenly to turn over and produce an organization for large-scale public works from these students. But it should not be difficult to make a suitable beginning.

I am merely hinting at this problem in this note. I should like the Education Ministry to examine fairly thoroughly.

The types of work can be many and various. It can be in connection with the Grow-More-Food Campaign. It may actually consist of work on land. It may concern itself with cottage industries or working actually in factories. Students may be employed in large numbers to collect statistics or for census work.

Whatever they might do, it should be organized and disciplined under trained heads.

I shall be grateful if the Education Ministry would put up a note on this subject.

1. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I wrote to you yesterday² about the Lohia case.³ Today some information reached me rather indirectly but reliably which I think I should convey to you.

The Socialist Party is very much put out by the activities and influence of the Communists. They want to divert their energies against this and even to cooperate with Government in various activities wherever possible, such as relief work, etc. They have two groups—the larger one which is thinking more and more on the above lines, a small one, led by Lohia, which acts irresponsibly on occasions. Lohia's activities are disliked by most of them and they have privately condemned them and spoken strongly to Lohia on recent occasions. But through party loyalty or whatever it is, they have to remain quiet in public when Lohia is being proceeded against in court. Some of Lohia's colleagues have announced a Lohia Day on 26 June.⁴ Others do not like this business at all and yet because of the trial, etc. they cannot do much about it. They feel that if this business of the trial, etc. was over, Lohia's stock would fall and then it would be easier to turn in a different direction and be more cooperative. How far this will happen I cannot say. But I think it is worthwhile, having regard to the all-India situation, to take advantage of any situation which reduces present tensions.

I understand that Lohia, etc. have announced today that they will not further defend themselves.⁵ This should enable us to end this trial quickly. It has lost all dignity and importance and the sooner it is ended and the chapter closed the better.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, p. 246.
2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 11, pp. 192-193, 251-252.
3. Rammanohar Lohia and some other Socialists were arrested on 25 May 1949 for defying prohibitory orders banning processions for observance of 'Nepal Day' in Delhi.
4. The Socialist Party observed 'Lohia Day' on 26 June 1949 to demand the withdrawal of emergency legislation and the restoration of civil liberties, and to protest against the conviction of Lohia and his colleagues.
5. On 21 June 1949, Lohia and his colleagues announced that they wished to withdraw from the proceedings of the case as the court had not been able to grant facilities for the defence.

2. Communist Violence¹

From time to time I have received copies of what purported to be circulars and instructions issued by the Communist Party of India or allied bodies. These contained instructions as to what should be done. There were sometimes references to sabotage and violence and generally the policy aimed at was one of worsening the economic condition of the country.

2. This was especially so when there was a threat of the railway strike. But even subsequently such information has reached me, coming through our intelligence. I feel that we have not made adequate use of this information and that we should have placed it before the public. We have repeatedly, in our own statements, talked about the Communist Party encouraging violence, sabotage, etc. But we have not put forward any kind of proof for it. Of course, an unsigned leaflet cannot be considered adequate proof of anything. But in the circumstances of the case such a leaflet or circular may bear internal evidence that it was actually issued by some members of the Communist Party.

3. A few days ago the Home Minister of the C.P. Government gave publicity² to a few such documents appertaining to the Communist Party. I find that this disclosure has created a fairly marked impression on people and in newspapers and for the first time they have realized what the Communist Party's real programme is in India.

4. I think we should proceed on these lines and collect such material as we have got, make suitable selections from it and give them publicity. Very little writing up is necessary. The selection has to be carefully made. I should like to see it myself before it is issued.

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 28 June 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. On 20 June 1949 D.P. Mishra read out some documents of the Communist Party to prove the "menace which the Communist Party constitutes to the country," and said that the Party owed its allegiance to a foreign country and believed in "violence and revolt and of causing mutiny in armed forces." Mishra clarified that his Government was not against the Communists preaching any ideology peacefully but was committed to take action against anyone preaching violence.

3. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 29, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

When I was in Dehra Dun last, we discussed the general situation and you mentioned specially the case of Golwalkar² and Tara Singh.³ I agreed with you that there was no particular point in keeping them in detention and further we might also remove the ban on the R.S.S.⁴

I agreed with this on general principles, because I think that in existing circumstances the less we have of these bans and detentions, the better. We can always take action, when necessity arises.

I mentioned to you then and had written previously about the case of Lohia and other Socialists, who are in prison here. Now that their trial is over, I think it would be desirable to let the whole lot of them out.⁵ I would suggest this both in consideration of the general policy to which I have referred above and also rather specially in this particular case. It was a somewhat trivial affair and it would be as well if we treated it as such. I feel that it would create a good impression generally if we let them all out. All of them have been in prison for over a month now.⁶ In the normal course they will be there for another seven weeks plus the period for the fine. To keep them right to the end of this period will not serve any useful purpose, except to embitter many people and make it appear that we want our pound of flesh.

Some of these people who are in prison got rather unexpectedly caught in this business. They had come from some other places to Delhi for the day and had no idea that there was going to be any satyagraha or the like. At Lohia's suggestion, they joined his procession and got into trouble.

I heard today that sometime ago Lohia was elected to represent the Indian Committee of the One World Movement.⁷ As such he is supposed to go to this One World Conference in Stockholm in August next. The promoters of this One World business are some British M.Ps., as well as others like Lord Boyd Orr, the food expert, etc. They are inclined to be faddists and impractical. But they are good intentioned people. I made it clear to them, when they came here, that I was entirely

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 247-248.

2. M.S. Golwalkar, arrested in November 1948, was released on 12 July 1949.

3. Tara Singh, arrested on 19 February, was released on 4 October 1949.

4. The ban on the R.S.S., imposed following the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, was lifted on 12 July 1949.

5. Lohia and his colleagues were released on 3 July 1949.

6. On 23 June 1949 they were sentenced to two months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs 200 each.

7. On 12 June 1949.

in favour of the one world idea, but I considered their schemes impractical and in any event I could not associate myself with them formally.

Now that Lohia has been chosen by that committee to go to Stockholm probably sometime in July the question of his going will arise. We can of course allow matters to drift and let him remain in prison and thus prevent his going. I think this will be a wrong policy and will have bad effects. It would be as well for him to go there. A visit abroad will probably do him good.

I suggest therefore that you might allow all these 42, or whatever the number is, Socialists in prison in Delhi to be released unconditionally. That is, the remaining part of their term of imprisonment and fine might be remitted.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 30, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of today's date which Patil brought. We have decided to make the announcement of his appointment day after tomorrow, Saturday morning. We shall call him Commissioner of Food Production. He will return to Delhi after about a week or so and take charge. We shall have to define his powers fairly carefully, but this can be done later.

I have finally fixed up about my going to Calcutta. Certainly we should do something drastic. But the problem is far more than a law and order one. Syama Prasad will probably give you an account of his visit to Calcutta. There is no doubt in my mind that there is grave dissatisfaction against the Ministry, more especially against the Civil Supplies Department.² Whether that dissatisfaction has any real basis behind it or not, I do not know. I do not myself see how we can carry on with that Ministry as it is, when there is so much public condemnation. In any event there should be some kind of an enquiry into the Civil Supplies Department. You can hardly have an enquiry into a Minister's conduct while that Minister continues. All this will have to be considered by us before I

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 236-237.

2. Prafulla Chandra Sen, Civil Supplies Minister for West Bengal, was alleged to have issued permits for political ends in respect of cloth, cement, salt and the allocation of wagons.

go. Then there is the Congress aspect in Calcutta. That had better be dealt with at the Working Committee meeting.

I understand that the Bihar Member of the Board of Revenue, Bakshi,³ who was connected with Bettiah Estate,⁴ has been removed by the Bihar Government from his office and given some out of the way job.⁵ He is fed up and wants to leave the province. He is supposed to be, I believe, a good officer. This Bihar business will have to be dealt with firmly pretty soon. I hope that your enquiries will conclude before the Working Committee meets, so that your recommendation might be considered by it.

As for the Socialists, they continue to show an amazing lack of responsibility and constructive bent of mind. They seem to be all frustrated and going mentally to pieces. When I wrote to you about Lohia and his people in prison, I did so not so much because of their importance in the scheme of things in India at present, or because any particular individuals should be specially catered for. I have been thinking of a much larger issue—our whole policy in such matters. I think that some revision of that should be considered. That is why I welcomed your suggestion to let out some prominent people.

Lohia's conviction for a relatively trivial offence rather brings out that policy and reactions are not favourable to us. For instance, this afternoon I met a very well-known American journalist,⁶ who is passing through Delhi and whom the American Ambassador sent to me. One of his remarks to me was that he was surprised to see that we had sent a number of Socialists to prison. He asked me why we had done so. I gave him what I thought was an adequate reply. I feel sure the continuation of Lohia and company in prison will do us no good and will somewhat harm our reputation abroad as well as here, while our releasing them soon will have a good effect. This has little to do with Lohia or the Socialists, but rather with our general approach and the reactions in the public of that approach.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Nagbhushan Bakshi.

4. See *ante*, p. 275.

5. It was reported that there were some differences of opinion between N. Bakshi, Member, Board of Revenue, and the Bettiah Estate Manager. Bakshi was transferred on 25 May 1949 to the post of Secretary for Administrative Reorganization in the Bihar Government.

6. Stewart Alsop, columnist for *The New York Herald Tribune*.

5. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
July 26, 1949

My dear Kher,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th July.² You are always welcome to see me and I shall always try to find time for it, because a talk with you is helpful.

I entirely agree with you that as a people we have lost the public sense of social justice.³ To put it differently, our standards have fallen greatly. Indeed, we have hardly any standards left except not to be found out.

When I used the word "spectacular" at the meeting, I was specially thinking of West Bengal. But, of course, what I said, applies elsewhere. We drift along calmly accepting things as they are. We see the mote in other people's eyes and not the beam in our own or in our friends' eyes. We are strong in condemnation of those who are our opponents, but we try not to see the obvious faults of our friends.⁴

What are we to do? I confess my mind is not clear, although I have thought of this a great deal. I wish you could help.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Kher felt that the malady among Congressmen was the frustration of the public sense of social justice awakened by their achievement of freedom. He wondered how could Congress secure anything "spectacular" as urged by Nehru at the Congress Working Committee meeting, when the highest ranking Congressmen were indisciplined and unaccountable.
3. Kher was distressed that Congressmen favoured the rich in their wrong doings and turned all their "machinery of purification" against the poor. But "it is not the poor and the lowly but the rich and the highly placed who need purification."
4. Kher asked whether highly placed corrupt Congressmen could be disowned publicly.

6. Adherence to Discipline in the Congress¹

The Working Committee have indicated in another resolution passed today,² the procedure to be followed in regard to any complaints of maladministration made

1. Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee, New Delhi, 28 July 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. The resolution was adopted on 28 July 1949.

by members of the Congress Party in a Legislature against ministers or other members of the Party.

The Committee would like to add that they disapprove completely of charges and complaints by a member of the Congress Party in a Legislature against a Minister or any other member being given publicity. This is against the discipline of the Congress and must therefore be deprecated. The procedure to be followed in all such cases is to make a reference to the Premier, as has already been indicated.

15

MISCELLANEOUS

I. General

1. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
June 25, 1949

Nan dear,

I have just received your letter of the 17th June. Also the citation for the honorary degree conferred on you by the Howard University.² The citation is a very good one and I think it should be given publicity here.

Your letter is a very interesting one. I had heard about Dr Bunche's³ refusal of the post of Assistant Secretary of State. I am not surprised if what he says about Negro conditions in Washington is true. I was greatly struck by him in Paris. Give him my regards when you meet him.

Here, we are all tied up with our economic difficulties in addition to the numerous other difficulties that encompass us. For the moment I am not worried about Kashmir and that is something to be thankful for. We have done our part and now we wait for the U.N. Commission. Lozano,⁴ who came to us on behalf of the Commission, seemed to approve of our attitude. But we do not know what the Commission may or may not do. Lozano meanwhile has resigned because of internal conditions in Columbia and is going back soon.

Conditions in Calcutta are very bad. Bidhan Roy, in spite of his great ability and hard work, has proved rather a poor leader of men. He has now gone for eye treatment to Switzerland and will be away for six or seven weeks. He has left Nalini Ranjan Sarkar in charge and that is a bad choice.

Our friends, the Socialists, and specially Lohia, are bent on giving petty trouble just to justify their existence. It may be that we have made many mistakes in our approaches to people. In any event the situation is a very troublesome one. It is dominated by the economic malaise.

I was very irritated at what Masani said at the Human Rights Commission about the Soviet Union.⁵ We have informed him that we did not approve of what he said. I suppose you know that there has been a tremendous mess in our Brazil Embassy.

I am just off to Dehra Dun to see Sardar Patel. I will spend the weekend with him. He is growing rather weak. I fear he will not grow any stronger now.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. On 3 June 1949 Vijayalakshmi was conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

3. Ralph J. Bunche.

4. Alfredo Lozano.

5. See *ante*, p. 428.

I am going to Ladakh on the 3rd. Indu would accompany me and I shall be away for eight days.

With love from
Jawahar

2. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
June 29, 1949

My dear Dickie,

Thank you for sending me a copy of your speeches in a beautiful binding.² I am glad to have it not only for personal reasons but also as a record of a strange and vital period of our history. I have been reading some of your old speeches and then finally I reached my old rather brief speech on the eve of your departure from India.³ You will remember that you showed the proof to me at Broadlands and I corrected it. I was slightly distressed to find that a number of my corrections were not carried out. Not that it makes much difference to anybody.

I find that our Information Department is publishing a collection of my speeches and statements during the past two years.⁴ So I suppose sometime or other you will have a copy of this book thrust upon you.

Ever since I returned from England, I have had to face very heavy weather here. Somehow quite a number of difficult problems all collected together to bear down upon me. All this, added to the heat, has not made life very pleasant or agreeable. I remembered that some astrologer had predicted two or three bad months for me. I also remembered that he had said that July would be more fortunate. I am so tired of June and I am waiting for July, without much hope though! But there is one thing about July which is filling me with suppressed excitement. I am paying a brief visit to Leh in Ladakh. The visit is going to be a very short one and altogether I shall be out of Delhi for six days, two of which will be spent in Srinagar. The remaining four days I fly to Leh and do a little trekking to a big

1. J.N. Collection.
2. *Time Only to Look Forward: Speeches—1947-48* (London, 1949).
3. At a public reception at Red Fort, New Delhi, 20 June 1948, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 6, pp. 358-360.
4. *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, Vol. 1, September 1946-May 1949 (Publications Division, August 1949).

monastery, where they are going to have a big fair. I am looking forward to this visit greatly not only because I had long wanted to go to Leh, but also as in Leh I shall be far away from all troubles that afflict me here. I think we get a wrong perspective of the world by living most of the time in cities full of quarrelling human beings. You are luckier and you roam about the seas.

Matthai, our Finance Minister, is going to London in a day or two. He was to have gone anyhow for the sterling balances and now this dollar business has created a new crisis. We live in a perpetual state of fevered crisis.

Here we carry on from day to day, thankful that that day is over and rather apprehensive of what the next day might bring. But human beings are remarkably adaptable and so, I suppose we have adapted ourselves to this unnatural and abnormal life. Still I sometimes wonder why any person should choose this odd life for himself.

Edwina writes to me from time to time and gives me news. I suppose she is on her way to Cyprus now and you are also steaming away in that direction. Delhi has been amazingly hot and we anxiously await the rains. Rajaji has gone to Simla for ten days. The U.N. Commission carries on and so do our refugees.

You may have noticed that Ghulam Mohammed, who is in London now for the sterling balances business, came out again with a malicious attack on you at a press conference in London.⁵ Pakistan continues to behave badly, though sometimes it speaks softly. While there is talk of a truce in Kashmir and of the withdrawal of Pakistan armies and irregular forces, meanwhile a frantic effort is being made on behalf of Pakistan to concentrate their forces in the so-called 'Azad Kashmir'. Their papers are full of war hysteria. I just cannot make out what they are after. They have plenty of troubles at home and perhaps, as sometimes happens in such cases, they seek relief in reckless adventure. The Frontier Province is rather out of hand and the Pakistan Government is very unpopular there.⁶ In West Punjab there has been a great agitation for Mudie's removal.⁷ Liaquat Ali has stood up

5. On 16 June 1949, Ghulam Mohammed blamed Lord Mountbatten for "untold misery" of Muslims and said that "but for his utter foolishness and callous disregard of warnings about Sikh preparations to bring about massacre of Muslims it might well have been prevented. It was in Delhi, that home of Muslim culture, right under the eyes of Lord Mountbatten and the Ministers that the Muslims were killed and dishonoured."
6. A number of leaders of the Progressive Muslim League demanding restoration of civil liberties had been detained and arrested in N.W.F.P. On 27 June 1949, the Pir of Manki Sharif, founder of the Frontier Awami League, challenged the Frontier Premier, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, to seek re-election to prove his claim to represent the Province and criticized the "totalitarian and dictatorial regime in the N.W.F.P."
7. The Working Committee of the West Punjab Provincial Muslim League on 22 May 1949 resolved that Francis Mudie should be recalled as Governor. Mudie had been administering the Province with full powers since 24 January 1949 when the popular Government had been dismissed.

for Mudie.⁸ Some kind of a temporary compromise has been arrived at, but I do not think this will last long.⁹ Afghanistan and Pakistan are staring at each other with daggers drawn.

I suppose you know that I intend going to America about the middle of October. I shall probably just pass through London on my way, spending a day or so there. I intend remaining in the U.S.A. about three weeks. On my way back early in November, I shall probably spend four or five days in London. Indira is likely to accompany me to America.

Vallabhbhai Patel has gone to Dehra Dun for some kind of a partial rest and relief from the heat. Very slowly he is getting weaker in health.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

8. In a statement on 26 May 1949 Liaquat Ali pledged full support to Mudie.
9. On 24 June 1949, Liaquat Ali suggested that while Mudie would continue as an agent of Central Government he would be assisted by a council of advisers appointed in consultation with the Muslim League. Mudie however resigned as Governor on 10 July 1949.

3. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
July 2, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Your letter of the 30th June² about National Songs. I hardly think it will serve any useful purpose to collect all the so-called patriotic songs in the country. On two or three occasions I tried to do so as Congress Secretary without much success. If we do it as a Government it will mean more labour for us and looking through third-rate material without doing any good to anybody.

So far as the National Anthem is concerned, I do not see why the subject should be reopened.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 2(61)/47-PMS.
2. Rajagopalachari wrote that a collection of patriotic songs from all parts of India might prove helpful in selection of official State songs besides the National Anthem.

4. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
August 12, 1949

My dear Krishna,

... Then I have two other letters in which you express yourself against our official set up. I agree with you in a great deal of what you say. But I still think that the faults are due more to a bad system than to any individual attempt to harrass. What has happened to you has happened to Vijayalakshmi and she has sent some angry letters and telegrams.² I am going into this matter. Meanwhile there are two things which we have laid down in writing for future guidance of the office. The first is that no posting or transfer should be made to any foreign mission without the previous consultation of the head of the mission. Secondly, that no transfer should be made in the foreign service, whether at headquarters or elsewhere, without previous reference to the Minister in charge, that is, so far as the foreign office is concerned, to me. This will get over to some extent, some of your difficulties. You have every right to object to a transfer or a posting affecting your office, if any such advice reaches you. The difficulty I find is that the service mentality does not think very much in terms of work to be done, but in terms of service, promotions, etc. It is a game of moving about people as on a chess-board. Bajpai, in spite of his long service experience, is able enough to think of other considerations; most other people are not.

It is true that the services are playing a very important role in our official life, both at the Centre and in the provinces. This is, to a large extent, due to the fact that our other human material, with a few exceptions, is very poor. The services realize that and therefore, feel much more assured about themselves than they used to. Our internal conflicts and quarrels among public men give the services a certain vantage point....

My sister, Krishna, is going independently to America via London about the time I am going there. Probably she will reach London a little before I do. I believe she is going on a lecture tour to the U.S. When in London, I hope you will look after her and help her. She has got a feeling that I ignore her, which is completely unjustified. So I should like her to be treated in a friendly way. Her two sons will go with her.

I have already sent you my programme of arrival and departure from London. You will notice that I shall reach there on Saturday afternoon and leave on Monday,

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. She had taken strong exception to the appointment of K.K. Chettur without prior reference to her, and to the manner in which B.K. Nehru and Keith C. Roy had been sent to New York for consultations with the State Department without her being informed.

October 10th, evening. I fixed this specially including Monday, so that I might perhaps meet Attlee or Cripps, if necessary.

For the last 12 days or so, I have had a crowd, varying from a few hundreds to a few thousands, of refugees sitting in front of my main gate. They make odd demands about rehabilitation, loans, houses, continuation of free rations, etc. The odd thing is that the people who come here or most of them are being looked after more than the others. I am personally concerned with a township which is growing up about 15 miles from Delhi and most of these people come from this proposed township. They are Frontier men. They are completely unreasonable and most of them belong to the petty shopkeeper class, which is the most difficult to deal with. I decided to give them a long rope and have told the police not to interfere so long as they remained peaceful and orderly and the roads are clear. They have remained peaceful, though they shout slogans a lot. It is rather distressing to have these people sitting there day and night. I told them right at the beginning that I was prepared to consider any request if made to me by a few persons, but I would not meet them or talk to them so long as they besieged my house. So I refuse to go to them or to send for them. It is an odd position and a test of patience for both of us.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

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MISCELLANEOUS

II. Personal

1. To Vatsala Samant¹

New Delhi
July 2, 1949

My dear Vatsala,²

I received your letter of the 29th June this afternoon.³ I am immediately replying to it, partly because you are naturally worried and I do not want you to be worried, and secondly because I am going away early tomorrow morning for Ladakh for a week.

You have written quite frankly about this matter and I appreciate that. So far as I am concerned, I do not see how anybody can blame you, though of course mistakes are unfortunate. If you are asked for an explanation either privately or in court, say exactly what you have written to me. There is no need to say less or more. I am quite sure every intelligent person will understand. So please do not worry about this matter. As for B.N. Pande⁴ writing to me, you are quite right that he should have asked you first. But our people have little sense of proprieties and he may have thought that owing to my close connection with the Hospital and with Allahabad, he might write to me.

You talk about resigning from the Hospital. I do not at all like the idea of your thinking of resigning because of this particular incident. In fact if you were resigning previously, you should not do so now. We do not want you to resign.

But independently of this incident, we can consider the matter. I think that what you badly require is a change. You have been unwell and you have worked hard for many years. Many months ago it had been suggested that you should go to Europe or America for some months. I do not know why this has not come off. I understand that there was some difficulty perhaps in making other arrangements and hence the delay. If possible, this matter should be speeded up and anyhow you should have rest. We can think about the future later. We should never decide anything at a moment when a particular incident has somewhat upset us.

I repeat, do not worry. You have done excellent work during these years and

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Vatsala Samant (b.1910); joined Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, Allahabad, 1947, retired, 1972.
3. In her letter Vatsala admitted that due to her "negligence" a patient had died after blood transfusion and added that "it was an accident that I chose the wrong donor—how it happened—it just happened, I just don't know" and that she was the "culprit and must take the punishment." She however regretted that the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality wrote to Nehru. She added that as she had reached the top of the ladder in her work at Allahabad, she wanted a change, to resign and stay with her family, as she felt that she might not be able to work efficiently now, "either I am getting old or I am tired."
4. Participated in freedom movement and imprisoned several times; Chairman, Municipal Board, Allahabad, 1949-53; member, U.P. Legislative Assembly, 1952-57; Mayor, Allahabad, 1960-61; member, Rajya Sabha, 1976-82; Governor of Orissa, 1983-89.

not only I but large number of people in Allahabad appreciated this very much. The fact that some one complains now and then has no significance.

I am sorry that you hesitated to write to me. You should not do so. We have now known each other for many years and you should treat me as a friend who can give you advice. It is just absurd for you to talk about my being angry with you.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr Jivaraj Mehta and another copy to Ladlibhai.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. L.M. Zutshi.

2. To M. Asaf Ali¹

New Delhi
July 2, 1949

My dear Asaf,

I have just received your letter of the 28th June and it has made a dismal reading. We are all apt to feel that way, but then something in us—it may be pride, it may be some other urge—rises up and keeps us going. Oddly enough, after a long period of something approaching depression I feel revitalised now. Why? Because I suppose things are pretty bad in so many directions and all the spirit of defiance and rebellion in me rises up to meet this challenge on whatever front it might exist. I am not, repeat not going into a monastery. I am just going to fight my hardest against all this sloth and inertia and corruption and self-interest and little-mindedness that we see around us. Whether I or you succeed or not is after all a little matter. The main thing is throwing off one's energy into a struggle for something one considers worthwhile.

I am going to Ladakh tomorrow morning for a few days. This really is a business visit, but I am looking forward to it. On my return I shall go to Calcutta for two days and I am looking forward to that also. Then we have a series of meetings, Working Committee, Premiers, etc. where some important decisions might be taken about our future.

Neogy came and gave me today a thesis written by his son² in America on the Konark Temple. He has got his doctorate on the basis of this thesis. When I have a little leisure, I propose to read it.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Prithwish Neogy (1918-1991); professor of the history of art at the University of Hawaii.

3. To Maria Lorenzini¹

New Delhi
July 2, 1949

Dear Maria Lorenzini,

Thank you for your letter and for your latest book—*Chinese Symphony*,² you have sent me. I received your previous books³ also through my daughter and enjoyed reading them. I hope to repeat that pleasure with your new book with its lovely pictures of Chinese paintings.

The world is a difficult place to live in, wherever we might be and life becomes more and more complicated with its unending problems. If we are fortunate, we can sometimes feel the fragrance of it and some glimpses of reality.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Published in 1949, this book had as illustrations ancient and modern Chinese paintings.
3. These include *Seeding Democracy* (poems, 1943) and *Singing Stones* (1945).

4. To Chandralekha Mehta¹

New Delhi
July 11, 1949

My dear Chand,

I received your letter of July 7th today. This is just to acknowledge it, as I am going early to Calcutta. Two days ago I came back from Ladakh where I had very interesting five days. We rode daily, sometimes twenty miles in the course of the day and I am afraid most of my companions were thoroughly worn out. Even the Air Vice Marshal² was in a terribly limp condition. Sharada³ was on the whole better. Some of the photographers, who went with us, were thoroughly miserable by their exertions.

Your letter is very interesting. For a while at least, I suppose it must be interesting to live in some past century.⁴ Sometime or other these people are going

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Subroto Mukherjee (1911-1960); Air Vice Marshal, 1949-54; Air Marshal, 1954-60.
3. Sharada Mukherjee (b. 1919); member, Lok Sabha, 1962-71; Governor of Andhra Pradesh, 1977-78 and of Gujarat, 1978-83.
4. Reference is to Goa where Chandralekha was living with her husband Ashok Mehta, Consul General in Goa.

to have a rude awakening to the twentieth century.

Indu is going with me to Calcutta to look after me.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

5. To Nilima Devi¹

New Delhi
July 17, 1949

My dear Nilima,

I received your letter a few days ago. While I was in Calcutta, Mathai tried to contact you, but failed. He went to your office also.

About my royalties, I should like to accommodate you, but I am myself in some difficulty. A very large part of my royalties go in payment of income tax. I have to pay a big sum fairly soon and therefore I should like you to send me a considerable sum, say about Rs. 20,000/- fairly soon.

Thank you for sending me your new publication, *Second Creature*,² by Sunil Janah.³ It is a fine and attractive book. I should like you to send, on my behalf, a copy of this book to the Countess Mountbatten of Burma, 16 Chester Street, Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1. Please say that you are sending it at my request. The book should be sent by sea mail.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. *The Second Creature* (Calcutta, 1948). The book illustrated by Satyajit Ray portrayed Indian village and tribal women.
3. (b.1918); reporter, and freelance photographer and journalist, 1948-53; U.N. photographer, 1954-59; author of *The Second Creature* and *The Dances of Golden Hall*.

6. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 8486 19th July. Please do not get excited and do not attach importance to exaggerated press reports. I am perfectly well and safe, moderately

1. New Delhi, 20 July 1949, V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

contented and cheerful. The Lucknow report had nothing to do with me personally and was anyhow exaggerated.²

2. It was reported in the press that a missile resembling a bayonet was found on the runway of Amausi airport a few hours after Nehru's aircraft landed there.

7. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
July 23, 1949

My dear Krishna,

...About my Calcutta visit, I have already written to you.² I think the press messages that you probably saw in London could not have been good. As a matter of fact my visit there was an astonishing success, and the security police did their work quite efficiently. I was a bit of a handful for them and would not allow them to have full play as they wanted to.

In fact I gave them strict injunctions what to do and what not to do, and on the whole they followed what I told them with considerable success. The bomb incident rather added to the uniqueness of the occasion. I do not think the bomb was meant for me and indeed it could not possibly reach me. It was merely somebody's idea to create a diversion and upset the meeting. Unfortunately a policeman died and three or four were injured. Otherwise it made not the slightest difference to anybody or to the meeting.

I have sent you a telegram³ about the Lucknow bomb, as it is called. What it was quite, I do not know. This too was a juvenile attempt at creating some trouble. Apparently the idea is that this kind of thing creates an atmosphere of fear and apprehension. I attached no importance to it and told the police not even to report it to the press. But some pressman overheard the news and flashed it across, no doubt in an exaggerated fashion.

The fact is that I am perfectly safe and among my many worries this business of security is not one of them, except insofar as too many policemen are in evidence when I go outside Delhi or sometimes in Delhi. I keep well and in spite of frequent irritation and annoyance, I am really not in the least depressed. So there is an example for you.

We have been very busy during the last few days with Premiers' conferences and the like and soon the Constituent Assembly will be upon us. But my chief

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. See Section 9, sub-section 1, item 12.
3. See the preceding item.

preoccupation lately has been the widespread damage caused by torrential rains. The plight of thousands of refugees has been pitiable. Indu, in common with many others, has been rushing about from place to place trying to help.

Sardar Patel's health seems to be on the downgrade. He is not at all well and I am afraid he will hardly recover his old health.

Dr Matthai spoke to me about you with some concern, that is, concern about your health. He was very appreciative of the way you had helped him and generally managed things....

Yours,
Jawaharlal

8. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
July 25, 1949

My dear Krishna,

Mehta,² our Ambassador-designate for The Hague, is leaving Delhi tomorrow morning on his way to London. I am taking this opportunity to send you a brief letter.

I have seen some press reports, chiefly telegraphic message from Reuters and P.T.I. about my visit to Calcutta and the incidents that happened there. These reports are not at all good and give a wrong perspective. The bomb incident seems to overshadow everything but in fact it did not interfere with my meeting even for a minute. My Calcutta visit was quite an astonishing success from every point of view, and personally I returned from Calcutta somewhat elated. Before I went to Calcutta there were daily incidents, conflicts, bombs and acid bulbs being thrown at the public or the police, and frequent police firings. Since my return from Calcutta, there has not been a single incident of any kind and life has become more or less normal. Of course this does not mean at all that Calcutta's problems have been solved. They are too deep-rooted for that. But it does mean that many of the external manifestations of these problems were rather superficial and have been dealt with some success for the time being.

I write this to you more especially to point out that reports from India through Reuters, etc. are seldom balanced. Perhaps this is due to a liking for sensationalism and the throwing of a bomb during my meeting was of course first-class news. But all this does give a wrong idea of conditions and happenings here and one should try not to be misled by it.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. M.S. Mehta.

You will remember that I wrote to you sometime ago suggesting that you might come here sometime or other for a consultation. I did not follow it up partly because I did not want you to come here during the extreme heat, and partly because I was waiting for some little leisure. The heat is over and we are right in the middle of the monsoon. That of course does not mean that the weather is going to be too pleasant. As for leisure, it is almost a vain hope. From now onwards we are full up with the Constituent Assembly and its various allied meetings. This being practically the last session of the Assembly,³ a number of important matters which had been passed over will be taken up. So I have to give a lot of time both to the Assembly and even more so to the Party meetings and the Drafting Committee. In addition to them of course there are plenty of other matters to be attended to. So I hardly think it will be convenient for you to come here while this Constituent Assembly is functioning. I do not know how long it will last. But it may well last throughout August. Perhaps your visit here in September might be worthwhile. I shall see how matters develop and let you know.

I wanted you to come here for a variety of reasons. One of them was to consider Dutt's report. I wrote to you that I had barely glanced through this and had not read it carefully. I was waiting for your comments and the comments of your senior officers before I took it up seriously. I understand that those comments have not come yet. The report meanwhile is completely shelved and nobody is dealing with it.

As I wrote to you once, we have provisionally fixed the 10th of October for my arrival in New York. I intend going by Air India via London, spending just about a day or a day and a half, in London. On my return from the States early in November, I should like to spend about four or five days in London before returning to India. Much of course will depend on conditions in India which might induce me to hurry back. About that time our Parliament will be meeting.⁴

Indira is likely to accompany me to the States. Mathai will also go with me. I do not think I shall take anyone else. But there is just an odd possibility of Bajpai going, if I feel that his presence might be necessary. The United Nations will be meeting then in General Assembly at Lake Success.

I am rather frightened at this prospect of my American visit. Perhaps frightened is not the right word. I am rather overwhelmed by the number and variety of engagements that loom up before me. I do not know how to fit them in.

Dr Matthai told me that you were not at all keeping well. Edwina too had written to me about it previously. I wish you would look after yourself a little more, both physically and otherwise. You may not approve of my giving you good advice. Nevertheless I would suggest to you not to worry too much about anything even

3. This session was held from 30 July to 18 September 1949. The last session, in fact, was held from 6 to 17 October 1949.
4. In fact, the sixth session of the Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) was held from 28 November to 24 December 1949.

though it might be momentarily irritating. I think I am developing to some extent a mood of detachment. Whether that is good or bad, I do not know. But certainly it helps.

Indira is well and is very busy now with refugee work as well as with a food committee⁵ that she has started.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. The Women's Food Committee was formed in New Delhi, with Indira Gandhi as its chairperson, to publicize the nutritive value, tastiness and variety of subsidiary foods as part of the Grow-More-Food Campaign.

9. Krishan Prasad Dar¹

New Delhi
August 7, 1949

My dear Krishanji,

For the last many months, Mathai, my Private Secretary, has been writing to you and requesting you to send a cheque for the royalties that have accrued to me. Apparently he has had no response.

A cheque was in fact sent by you sometime in March I think. But for some reason of accounting or other, Mathai suggested that you might send it a few days later. It was hardly worthwhile for him to have done that. However, the point is that ever since then letters go on being sent to you with no result whatever. I do not know if this is a consequence of the Dalmia connection with A.L.J.² Anyhow I should like to know definitely within the next week at the latest, that is by the 14th August, what you propose to do about this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. The Allahabad Law Journal Press which printed some of Nehru's books.

10. To Mrs Henry F. Grady¹

New Delhi

August 15, 1949

My dear Mrs Grady,

Tara² came here yesterday and showed me a letter of yours to her, in which you had remembered me in gracious language. I must confess to you that I have been a little afraid of writing to you, simply because I have been so remiss about it. For many months past I have been thinking of writing, but because this was not done at the right moment, it became a little difficult. I am sure you will understand.

I was deeply touched when you and Dr Grady came to see me last year at the Athens Aerodrome in the middle of the night. It was an extraordinarily kind thought of you to do so and I have treasured the memory.

I heard sometime ago that the people of Athens had done you a signal honour and made you a free citizen of their ancient city. No one, I feel sure, could have deserved that honour more than you. Wherever you go, you endear yourself to all people, and when you go away, they miss you greatly.

As you must know, I hope to go to the U.S. early in October and to stay about three weeks there. I am greatly looking forward to my visit.

With all good wishes to you and Dr Grady,

Very sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Nayantara Sehgal.

11. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi

August 15, 1949

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

Thank you for the telegram of greetings which Dickie and you and Pammy sent today. We had our usual simple ceremony. Early in the morning we went to Rajghat to place some flowers there and there was the kind of prayer that Gandhiji used to have. Later there was the unfurling of the Flag at the Red Fort. As usual, there was a very large gathering, possibly half a million or so. The ceremony was simple

1. J.N. Collection.

and chiefly consisted of the unfurling of the Flag and a speech from me. There was an American engineer² present, who happens to be my guest at the moment and he is a man of wide experience of this kind of thing. He spent eight years in Russia on behalf of the General Electric Company, helping in the building of the big dams there during the five-year plan. He spent many years in China and in Japan. He was a member of the Reparations Commission after the War. He had seen many independence day celebrations in other countries. He told me that he was greatly impressed by the numbers and the discipline and the quiet enthusiasm of the people. All this is very satisfying. But that is one side of the picture.

I received today your letter of the 6th August about D.E. Wills.³ I am enquiring about him immediately and shall let you know.

I wrote to you about a strange visitation which we have had—some thousands of refugees squatted in front of my gate. Their patience was ultimately exhausted before mine and the whole lot of them departed yesterday. I had got so used to them that the whole front of our house appears deserted now and very quiet. Anyhow I am glad that this little incident ended more or less satisfactorily.

I have already sent you my proposed programme for going to the U.S. That programme will hold, so far as my date of departure and stay in London is concerned. That is to say I expect to reach London on the 8th October, Saturday, at noon and leave London for the U.S. on the 10th evening at about 7 p.m. I am not quite sure about the date of my return from the U.S., though it will be more or less the date I have mentioned. It might, however, be extended by a day or so. There is a great pressure on my programme in the U.S. Both the Government there and the people are making a great deal of fuss about my visit. I am told that there has not been quite so much interest in any visit for many years. All this is rather alarming.

My sister, Krishna, has accepted some kind of lecture tour in the U.S. Why anyone should go on a lecture tour there, I do not understand. Wild horses would not induce me to do it. However, Krishna has decided to do so. She is not going with me, but probably she will go there at much the same time, spending a few days in Cairo and London *en route*. Her stay in London might overlap with mine. I think she is taking her two boys with her also. Her husband is not going. He has associated himself with a new evening paper⁴ in Bombay and is full of it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. S.A. Trone.

3. D.E. Wills worked at the Government House, New Delhi, and Lady Mountbatten recommended his employment at the Indian High Commission in London.

4. *Evening Star*.

GLOSSARY

Adivasis	tribes in various parts of India
Awami Raj Zindabad	long live democracy
Bigha	a measure of land
Burias	Muslims belonging to Buria village in Punjab
Chappals	slippers
Dargah	tomb of a Muslim saint
Goondas	hooligans
Gurmukhi	script used in the Punjab
Jagir	rent-free land granted by the government for services rendered
Jagirdar	holder of a jagir
Jai Hind	victory to India
Kharif	autumn harvest
Kisan	peasant
Maidan	open field
Mantra	religious incantation
Meos	a Muslim tribe of cultivators in Haryana
Nai Talim	basic education
Pagri	colloquially a lump sum paid at the time of renting a house
Pahari Ilaqa	hilly region
Panchayat	village council
Patwari	a village record-keeper
Pucca	permanent
Rabi	spring harvest
Sarf-e-khas	estates belonging to royalty in Princely States
Satyagraha	truth force or soul force
Sher-e-Kashmir	Lion of Kashmir
Taccavi	advance given to cultivator
Tamasha	a show or entertainment or function
Tehsil	a sub-division of a district
Thela	cart
Yuvaraj	Heir apparent
Zamindari	landlord's estate
Zindabad	long live

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The eight weeks from 21 June to 15 August 1949 covered in this volume saw the Prime Minister preparing India to function as a Republic with the new Constitution soon coming into force. In the final stages of its making, Nehru participated in debates on the right to property—its acquisition and compensation, citizenship rights, the constitutional status of Delhi, the salt tax, privy purses and the question of language.

Nehru stressed that discipline, hard work and mutual cooperation were necessary if the Constitution were to endure and be effective. There was obviously no aspect of the administration which did not concern him, but some matters were of prime urgency. The food problem should be tackled by intensive cultivation, growing of supplementary foods, changing food habits and speedy implementation of land reforms. A fair deal to labour should go along with discipline and higher production. He favoured control for cotton textiles and the removal of the open general licence for goods that needed protection, and preferred industrialization and economic viability to mere nationalization.... Developments in China gave added emphasis to the need for developing the border areas.

The rehabilitation of refugees, their education and housing, and the conversion of refugee camps into work centres continued to receive Nehru's attention. He asked for repromulgation of the ordinance for recovery of abducted women even when critics were sceptical about Pakistan's positive action on a reciprocal basis.

In foreign affairs, while supporting the military ceasefire agreement in Kashmir, he informed the U.N.C.I.P. and the United States that India could not agree to any proposals on truce, including arbitration, unless Pakistan first vacated aggression. He declined to join the proposed Asian Pacific Union against communism, continued to voice India's concern against racial discrimination in Africa, supported the cause of freedom of Indonesia and urged its leaders to remain united....

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